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Nazarkin Discusses Strategic Arms Reductions

LD1001150790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—An agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons (SOW) between the Soviet Union and the United States may be signed as early as this year, if the ABM Treaty is observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972. This was stated today by Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the USSR delegation at Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons (NSW) in Geneva and ambassador at large. He spoke here at a news conference marking the fourth anniversary of Mikhail Gorbachev's 15 January statement setting out a program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons on the planet.

The Soviet diplomat recalled that an agreement on the timing for signing an agreement on strategic offensive weapons was reached during the Soviet-U.S. summit off the coast of Malta in December last year. As for the basic parameters of the treaty, he continued, they also have been fixed in joint Soviet-U.S. statements at the highest level. They envisage a reduction in the nuclear warheads belonging to each side to 6,000 and in strategic delivery systems to 1,600. There are also sublevels determining the number of warheads on intercontinental ballistic missiles and ballistic missiles on submarines at 4,900 units, and 1,540 warheads on 154 heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Of the questions on which agreement has yet to be reached, Yuriy Nazarkin singled out problems of limiting long-range air- and sea-based cruise missiles. Back in September last year, during a meeting between the USSR and U.S. foreign ministers in Wyoming, the Soviet side put forward proposals to resolve these issues. However there has so far been no answer from the United States. Concerning the substance of existing differences, Yuriy Nazarkin said that the USSR considers it necessary for both sides to make undertakings regarding limitations on sea-based cruise missiles with nuclear warheads, whereas the United States is insisting on "non-binding limitations." Using this position as its starting point the U.S. side is declining even to discuss questions involving sea-based cruise missile control.

Answering a question about the schedule for eliminating weapons due for reductions within the framework of the agreement on strategic offensive weapons, the Soviet diplomat said that the elimination process should take between 7 and 10 years.

Yuriy Nazarkin expressed hope that the forthcoming visit by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to Moscow will promote the resolution of issues upon which agreement has yet to be reached. "We hope that the forthcoming talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker will add momentum to the talks on nuclear and space weapons," he stressed.

Diplomat Welcomes INF Treaty Implementation

LD1001174790 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The conclusion and subsequent implementation of the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles shows that the concept of nuclear disarmament set out in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of Janaury 15, 1986, is justifiable and realistic, Ambassador Mikhail Streltsov, Soviet representative on the commission for promoting the implementation of the treaty, told a news conference here today.

He noted that one of the tasks set in the Soviet president's statement was the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe at the first stage of ridding the globe of nuclear weapons, in the course of five to eight years.

Streltsov said that the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles that came into effect on June 1, 1988, envisages the elimination of Soviet and American shorter-range missiles within the first 18 months (they have already been eliminated), whereas intermediate-range missiles should be eliminated within the first three years of the operation of the treaty. These two classes of Soviet and American missiles are to be eliminated everywhere, the Soviet diplomat said.

Streltsov said that by January 9, 1990, the Soviet Union eliminated 1,498 intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, or 81.1 percent of the number of missiles to be destroyed. The United States eliminated 451 missiles, or 53.3 percent of the number of missiles to be destroyed.

During the time the treaty has been in operation, the Soviet side made 104 inspections of U.S. facilities in the United States and in West European countries. The U.S. side made 355 inspections of Soviet facilities. Inspections on a permanent basis are made at plants in Votkinsk, the Udmurtian Autonomous Soviet Republic, and in Magna, Utah state.

An intricate mechanism of comprehensive and reliable verification has been launched due to the treaty, Streltsov said. It comprises a regular exchange of information, and on-site inspections, including the entire process of the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the use of national means of verification on a basis of cooperation.

Various kinds of inspection equipment, including intricate X-ray equipment have been agreed upon and are used.

Streltsov noted that the testing and perfection of various methods of verification are of importance for the successful implementation of the treaty, and are being used to work out other arrangements on disarmament, above all, on strategic offensive arms.

In this connection he emphasised the broad political importance of this activity for confidence building between the Soviet Union and the United States and their allies, was the consolidation of the principles of openness in the most sensitive area of international relations, the military area.

Next Round of Conventional Forces Talks Previewed

LD1001184390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1235 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—Vladimir Chernyshev, TASS military observer, writes:

Another round, the fifth, of the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, opens in Vienna on 12 January. It appears that this round ought to be of fundamental importance and, perhaps, of decisive importance. It is precisely during the course of this round that it should transpire whether its participants are able to prepare for signing this year the first treaty on reducing conventional arms and armed forces on the European continent. After all, as is known, there has been no shortage of statements on the part of high officials of the East and West alike to the effect that it is desirable and possible to conclude this treaty in 1990.

I think that a whole range of factors ought to facilitate this goal: further expansion of interaction among the countries which are participants in the all-European process, the weighty and encouraging results of the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Malta, a dynamic and rapid development of events in the countries of Eastern Europe.

The fact that both sides—the Warsaw Pact and NATO alike—have already presented their own drafts on the treaty must be seen as a positive aspect as far as the talks themselves are concerned. And differences on the position with regard to a number of substantial questions notwithstanding, both drafts have the same thrust, both in their structures and formats.

Unfortunately, an appropriate pace of reaching agreement on the problems which are yet to be resolved has not been secured during the previous round. The NATO countries were busy not so much with holding talks with the Warsaw Pact countries, as with reaching consensus with regard to their own, internal differences. Moreover, as transpires from press reports in the West, these arguments are continuing. Nor is it possible to fail to draw attention to another important aspect. One gets the impression that certain Western participants in the talks are drawing an incorrect conclusion in connection with the extensive transformations being implemented in the Eastern European countries. In their view, the internal political changes will lead to a situation in which the Warsaw Pact states may forgo their own security interests and will approach uncritically the appraisal of everything that the North Atlantic alliance puts forward during the talks in Vienna. A position like that will hardly be conducive to resolving the tasks set by both military-political alliances.

The absence of any constructive response on the part of the Western participants to the proposals of socialist countries concerning a number of questions can only give rise to serious concern. Among these questions are, for instance: that reductions ought to affect the combat aircraft of the frontal (tactical) aviation, that a maximum top limit ought to be established on the number of fighter-interceptors of the air defense forces, that types of arms to be reduced ought to be defined (in particular, tanks, armored fighting vehicles and helicopters), that there should be an exchange of information in detail about troops and arms, and that there ought to be stabilizing measures. The situation with regard to the question of reducing the numerical strength of troop personnel also remains very complicated, at least for the time being. The Warsaw Pact proposes that reductions should affect not only arms, but also personnel, something that in the present European situation would represent an important factor of strengthening stability. The NATO countries, however, are reluctant to tackle this problem, proposing merely that only the USSR and U.S. troops outside national territories in Europe should be subject to reductions.

The Warsaw Pact representatives emphasized repeatedly that they do not see their position on all questions as some kind of standard that is not subject to change. They stated they were open to receive any constructive proposals, making it possible to bring the viewpoints of the sides closer together. Such proposals, however, must be made. Nor should it be forgotten that the talks are a two-way street, while attempts to make use of "double standards" in one's approach to security will yield no success.

Progress in Monitoring Sea-Launched Cruise Missiles

PM1101100390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by APN Military Observer V. Pogrebenkov especially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "One More Step Along the Path of Working Out a Monitoring System for Sea-Launched Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] Washington-Moscow—Back in December the cruiser *Slava* was mentioned in Washington more often than any other Soviet ship. The reason was primarily the meeting between the USSR and U.S. leaders off Malta. But that was not the sole reason. A Soviet-U.S. scientific seminar held in the U.S. capital in December discussed the results of an experiment conducted in the Black Sea on board that selfsame *Slava*.

Let us recall that the Black Sea experiment, conducted by Soviet and U.S. scientists in July 1989 off Yalta, confirmed that it was possible in principle to detect nuclear weapons on board surface ships. This was proved by means of remote and contact methods and instruments.

Scientists and specialists from the USSR Academy of Sciences, several ministries and departments, and the Navy took part in the experiment. The U.S. side was represented at the experiment by the U.S. National Committee for the Protection of Environmental Resources and scientists from several scientific organizations.

The Black Sea experiment was conducted successfully. But it also gave rise to quite a few questions. They should have been answered by Soviet and U.S. scientists during the joint scientific seminar in Washington.

We would be sinning against the truth if we were to say that convincing answers were found to all the complex questions and that scientific consensus was reached. U.S. delegation head T. Cochrane, for example, believes that the monitoring of nuclear weapons would be seriously hindered if such weapons were concealed on board a ship or located beneath the waterline. T. Cochrane also believes that active monitoring measures ought to be used together with passive ones—something akin to X-raying nuclear warheads on board the ship being inspected. The question of monitoring nuclear warheads on board submerged submarines remains open, since water absorbs radioactive emissions. It is obviously necessary to continue to improve the design of monitoring instruments. It is intended to take measurements of different types of radiation from nuclear weapons from helicopters or ships at a sufficiently safe distance from the object being inspected and under the most diverse monitoring conditions.

The quest for answers to these questions will continue. In this context, we would like to emphasize that Soviet and U.S. scientists reached agreement on the following points.

First, the Black Sea experiment is an unprecedented case of collaboration between Soviet and U.S. scientists and specialists in the sphere of seeking technical means of monitoring sea-launched nuclear weapons. It showed that it is possible in principle to develop the necessary range of technical means, making it possible to monitor sea-launched cruise missiles with nuclear warheads.

Second, it is not any single method but their totality that is most reliable. Therefore it should be a matter of developing an integrated mutually acceptable monitoring system capable of operating with sufficient accuracy over large territories, within acceptable time limits, and in the different conditions for the use of sea-launched nuclear weapons.

Third, the monitoring of surface ships and submarines ought to be implemented in stages. The probable presence of nuclear weapons on board and their location should initially be detected by remote monitoring methods. Then, where necessary, use could also be made of the contact method, which, in the specialists' opinion, makes it possible to determine the quantity of sea-launched cruise missiles or to isolate them against the background of radiation from the ship's nuclear reactor. Clearly, the presence of nuclear weapons on board submarines can be monitored only at their base ports, when the submarine is moored at the pier. Monitoring can also take place at sea if the submarine is on the surface.

Fourth, fears were expressed that contact methods, if used in the form in which they were presented by the U.S. side, could be a source of information about design details of nuclear warheads, which constitutes top secret information.

Of course, the Black Sea experiment is just the first step along the path of working out a monitoring system for sea-launched nuclear weapons. The Soviet side proposed a stage-by-stage joint studies program for 1990. There is the idea of organizing a bilateral committee for the development of international technical means for monitoring nuclear weapons, on which, we think, the military must also be represented.

The seminar concluded with the adoption of a joint statement on the results of the Black Sea experiment. This document specifically says: "We call on the U.S. and USSR Governments to give maximum support and assistance to our efforts to study the possibilities of using means and methods of monitoring nuclear weapons." Now it is up to the governments.

Need for Talks on Naval Forces Argued

PM1001115790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Lieutenant General V. Starodubov: "Strategic Equilibrium: Need for Talks on Naval Forces"; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] On 15 January 1986 the USSR submitted a plan for the phased elimination of nuclear arms in the world by the end of this century. The West's first reaction was more than restrained: NATO circles regarded the Soviet initiative as a "propaganda step" and an attempt to "score points" in the eyes of world public opinion.

The situation has changed with time: The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been concluded and there are real chances in Geneva of a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms.

Of course, the process of ridding the planet of nuclear weapon stockpiles is not smooth and even. This is discussed in the article below.

Equilibrium, stability, and security are interconnected concepts. It is impossible to imagine security for the peoples without stability in the military-political situation in the world or stability without stable military equilibrium. Moreover, the lower the levels of military confrontation, the more stable this equilibrium. The Warsaw Pact states believe that the safest level of this confrontation must be determined on the basis of the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

This is an important element of the new political thinking, which is now influencing the development of international relations in many respects. The first steps have already been taken in nuclear disarmament. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been concluded and is being successfully implemented. Progress has been made in elaborating a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. There is confidence that work will finally be completed on a convention banning of chemical weapons. Talks on conventional forces in Europe are under way.

The USSR and its allies are carrying out a major unilateral reduction in their armed forces to give greater impetus to the process of switching from the principle of overarmament to the principle of sufficiency for defense.

However, the process that has begun is not without difficulties and is sometimes artificially obstructed by those forces that have either not mastered the postulates of the new political thinking or oppose it, guided by narrow egoistic considerations.

At any rate the U.S. leadership and other leading NATO countries can be said to have an extremely peculiar understanding of the state of world stability. Many facts illustrate that people there still believe stability is derived from strength, their strength. This is the only explanation of the continuing desire for U.S. military superiority over the USSR and NATO military superiority over the Warsaw Pact. The U.S. and NATO positions at the talks largely accord with this understanding of stability.

For instance, in the course of the debates in Geneva on nuclear and space arms, the United States is seeking limitations which would primarily apply to the arms which form the basis of the USSR's strategic defense might—ground-launched ballistic missiles. At the same time it is trying to give itself an opportunity to implement the program to create an anti-ballistic missile system for the country using space-based elements (SDI) and also to deploy on a large scale strategic sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM's) whereby they hope to achieve superiority.

The same thing also can be glimpsed at the talks on problems of military security in Europe. Here the United States and other leading NATO countries are not only refusing to examine questions of limiting naval forces in which they have superiority but are also sabotaging discussion of the question of extending confidence-building measures to independent naval and air force activity, on which agreement was reached in Madrid.

Stability based on strength presupposes diktat by some states or alliances over others and a return to "gunboat diplomacy." The U.S. aggression against Panama was an example of this. The world's mightiest capitalist power obviously decided to try out in practice the concept of "low-intensity conflicts" proclaimed 2 years ago, whereby the United States intends to resolve questions relating to "stability" in regions "according to its own prescription," by relying on superior forces. Naturally such an understanding of stability is unacceptable. Stability can only be based on equilibrium.

There are various definitions of military equilibrium. To summarize them, military equilibrium can be said to be a correlation of military forces (taking into account their quantitative and qualitative indicators) whereby neither side has a superiority that can be used to unleash a war in the hope of victory or to exert pressure with a view to achieving a political result.

This definition does not presuppose that the sides' military forces "mirror" each other. Nor does it envisage absolute overall quantitative and qualitative equality. It is important for these forces to be sufficient for reliable defense, but not for them to enable the sides to count on achieving military-political aims by means of aggression or the threat of aggression.

Can one judge the equilibrium of the sides' military forces by only considering part of the armed forces that determine the military correlation? Definitely not. However rigorously we try, for instance, to even out the combat potential of ground and air forces in Europe, the side with the stronger naval forces would have military superiority.

The point is that now the combat potential of naval forces' arms during land-based operations is not only not inferior but in many cases superior to the potential of the corresponding land-based weapons.

For instance, the U.S. nuclear-tipped ground-launched cruise missiles sited on West European countries' territory, which have been destroyed under the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, could have hit targets in the Warsaw Pact countries as far as the Volga. The ship-based "Tomahawk" SLCM's can hit virtually all of Eastern Europe as far as the Urals from neutral waters. Even if these missiles are fitted with conventional warheads (which are heavier than nuclear charges), they have a range of up to 1,500 km, which is greater than the range of most ground-based tactical aviation.

SLCM's are mounted on various classes of surface ships and submarines. According to current data, the United States plans to have a total of approximately 4,000 "Tomahawk" SLCM's (including 750 to 800 nuclear missiles) and to arm approximately 200 warships with them. They intend to equip some SLCM's with several nuclear charges (tests are under way) and also to develop [sozdat] cruise missiles using "Stealth" technology.

The United States is increasing the number of aircraft carrier formations. There will officially be 15 of them as of 1990. U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney's avowed intention to mothball the aircraft carrier "Coral Sea" does not indicate anything apart from the fact that this will be the fifth aircraft carrier to be mothballed. It is

planned to subsequently replace other obsolescent aircraft carriers. The Navy was recently given a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier—the *Abraham Lincoln*—which will be followed in 1992 by a similar aircraft carrier, the *George Washington*. State-of-the-art CVN-74 and CVN-75 aircraft carriers are next in line.

Thus carrier formations' combat potential is being constantly enhanced along with the increase in numbers. A reserve of aircraft carriers which can, if necessary, be rapidly transformed into combat units is being accumulated. The four battleships which have received a second life after many years in the reserve serve as an example of this. They can now not only inflict strikes on land targets using their powerful artillery (remember Lebanon), but also have become SLCM launchpads.

According to data from London's International Institute for Strategic Studies, approximately 1,300 combat aircraft with a range of between 850 km and 1,250 km are based on 15 aircraft carriers alone within the U.S. aircraft carrier formations. (Let us note that, according to information from the same source, the F-16, the most common modern U.S. land-based strike aircraft, has an operating range of 930 km and a substantially smaller payload than, for instance, the deck-borne F/A-18 aircraft.)

Lastly, there are the U.S. amphibious assault forces. The U.S. defense secretary's report on the military budget for fiscal 1990/91 says that they "are not only being built up. In accordance with the new concept and tactics for conducting maritime assault operations they are being given the capability to deploy forces and equipment on shore from ships outside the line of sight."

Annual exercises like "Autumn Forge" illustrate how the United States and NATO plan to use their naval forces. In 1989 these exercises encompassed a vast area: on land from Norway to Turkey, and from Gibraltar to Elba; and on sea, the waters around Europe, including the North Atlantic. The exercises, in which all branches of the armed forces took part, were carried out under a single leadership according to a carefully coordinated plan. According to official data, more than 200,000 servicemen, 1,000 tanks, up to 2,000 combat aircraft, and approximately 400 ships from all bloc countries, including France and Spain, were involved in them.

The NATO leadership did not hide the fact that, in accordance with the concept of "forward maritime borders," the navy exercises conducted within the framework of the "Autumn Forge" exercises were devoted to rehearsing a constant NATO naval presence in direct proximity to Warsaw Pact states' territorial waters and ensuring the readiness for immediate strikes against their ships and targets on the coast and deep inland.

Virtually at the same time as the "Autumn Forge" exercises from September to November 1989 the U.S. Armed Forces and those of their allies conducted exercises in the Asia-Pacific region—"Pacex 89"—which were the largest U.S. operation in this region since World War II in terms of the scale and composition of the forces and systems involved and the tasks performed. Here also 200,000 servicemen, more than 500 aircraft, and up to 100 warships and vessels, including four aircraft carriers and a battleship carrying "Tomahawk" SLCM's, were involved.

The nature of the exercises, the composition of the forces and equipment involved in them, the unity of aims and tasks, and the coordination of time and place illustrate that naval forces not only have the potential to operate with land-based forces but also are rehearsing this task.

It is said that our Navy too was not created for pleasure trips at sea. That is indisputably the case. Moreover, lately we have witnessed the construction if not of aircraft carriers (as defined in the so-called Montreux Convention of 1936), then of ships close to them in terms of combat potential—aircraft-carrying ships. They include, for instance, the *Tbilisi* heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser. Naturally, there will not be a U.S. monopoly on SLCM's either.

The difference is that the USSR and its allies are prepared to confine themselves to a composition of naval ships according with the principle of sufficiency for defense. The Warsaw Pact states have frequently drawn attention to the need to include naval forces in the active dialogue on disarmament questions and have proposed to the NATO countries that separate talks be begun on this branch of the armed forces.

Speaking about equilibrium, the Warsaw Pact states consider it possible to achieve equilibrium via a balance of interests and mutual consideration of concerns. They reacted with understanding to the NATO countries' concerns about land-based intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and conventional forces in Europe and are entitled to expect equally constructive consideration of their concern about naval forces.

Yes, the Warsaw Pact states agreed that the sides' naval forces were not the subject of the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe. It follows from official statements that they have no intention of abandoning this understanding. However, this certainly does not mean that naval forces have disappeared from the real military balance of the sides' forces. It is impossible to achieve genuine equilibrium of military forces in Europe and the world as a whole and, consequently, stability and security without considering the correlation of forces at sea.

Therefore it is impossible to avoid a coordinated reduction in naval forces. Separate talks are necessary if this cannot be discussed at the talks among the 23 countries in Vienna.

There is no need to prove that naval forces, which now carry great weight in the overall balance of the sides' military forces, will acquire even greater weight as other branches of the armed forces are cut back. In this connection M.S. Gorbachev stated unequivocally in

October 1989 in Finland that the "process of strengthening confidence and reducing and then completely overcoming military confrontation and the transition to non-offensive defense will simply not take place unless this problem is solved."

Naval forces also were discussed in Malta. There the Soviet leader again voiced the opinion that "the time has come for us to begin talking about naval forces and discuss this problem."

The sides did not reach any concrete accord on the problem of naval forces, but President Bush's words regarding the possibility of "discussing these questions in a very constructive atmosphere" nonetheless inspire hope that there are signs of change. There must be.

Galvin Cited on Reduced Scale of 'Reforger 90'

PM0901160590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Peresada report: "A Reduced Program"]

[Text] Brussels, 8 Jan—Belgium's "share" of the NATO maneuvers codenamed "Reforger 90" are in full swing here now. Their aim is to rehearse the shipment of U.S. troops "in the event of a crisis situation."

Part of the port of Antwerp has been declared a "war zone." Helicopter gunships, tanks, and trucks are being unloaded from the U.S. ships arriving there. Troop subunits are arriving at a military airfield near Brussels aboard transporters. Men and equipment are then being sent by road, rail, and river boat to the FRG where field exercises will later be held. The Belgian Army is not taking direct part in the maneuvers but is ensuring that communications are in an "operational state."

This year, for the first time, the program of the Reforger exercises, which have been held regularly since 1967, will be scaled down. Some 15,000 servicemen will be shipped from the United States (approximately one-third of them via Belgium), which is 15 percent less than the 1988 maneuvers. In all about 70,000 men will be involved together with the U.S. troops permanently stationed on FRG territory and units of other NATO countries and auxiliaries. That figure is also less than 2 years ago.

The press attributes the reduction in the number of participants in the maneuvers to "cuts" in the Pentagon's budget, as well as to a desire to ease the discontent of the European public, particularly the FRG population, at the great damage inflicted on farmland by military hardware and the nuisance resulting from the noise of the machinery and the roar of the guns. But, of course, there is another reason which, I think, is the main one.

Judging by documents of the NATO council's winter session in Brussels recently and comments from the North Atlantic alliance's leaders, NATO is increasingly taking account of present realities on the European continent. J. Galvin, NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, acknowledged when addressing journalists on the opening of the maneuvers that the military-political situation has improved because tension in East-West relations has eased. Admittedly, he asserted at the same time that the allies still need a strong defense. But he said other things, too. For example, that after the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe the conditions may be created to hold military exercises on a very small scale.

45th CEMA Session Concludes in Sofia 10 Jan

Meeting Ends; Communique Issued

LD1001164590 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia January 10 TASS—The concluding meeting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) session was held at the Sofia People's Palace this afternoon.

It was attended by the heads of the delegations of the CMEA member-countries and also Yugoslavia and representatives of observer countries.

A protocol was signed and a communique passed on its results.

The CEMA will hold its next session in Budapest.

Bulgarian Prime Minister Georgi Atanasov made the concluding speech at the 45th CMEA session.

Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers Miklos Nemeth made a reply speech.

Bulgaria's leadership held a reception in honour of its participants. The delegations of the CMEA member countries, including the Soviet delegation, led by Nikolay Ryzhkov, were present at the reception which was held in a friendly atmosphere.

TASS Reports Communique

LD1001202090 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 10 Jan 90

["CMEA Session Communique"]

[Text] Sofia January 10 TASS—The 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was held in Bulgaria's capital Sofia from January 9 to 10, 1990.

The session stressed the need for a resolute renewal of the CMEA system of mutual cooperation and the mechanism of multilateral coperation, a fundamental renewal of the CMEA's activities, revision of its functions and aims, and a new charter to be up to present-day and future requirements of counteraction between the CMEA member-countries.

The session deemed it necessary to form a special commission to discuss proposals by countries on fundamental questions of cooperation within the CMEA framework and to draft new basic CMEA documents in a brief period of time.

A business-like and constructive discussion at the session was marked by the spirit of mutual understanding.

The session was attended by the CMEA delegations led by Bulgarian Prime-Minister Georgi Atanasov, Hungarian Prime-Minister Miklos Nemeth, Vietnamese First Deputy Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet, German Democratic Republic's Prime-Minister Hans Modrow, Deputy Chairman of the State Council and Deputy Prime-Minister of the Republic of Cuba Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, the Mongolian Prime-Minister Dumaagiyn Sodnom, Polish Prime-Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Romanian Prime- Minister Petre Roman, Soviet Prime-Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

The meeting was also attended by CMEA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev and representatives of the CMEA's agencies.

A Yugoslav delegation led by Federal Executive Council member Branimir Pajkovic attended the session under the agreement between the CMEA and the Yugoslav Government.

The session was attended as observers by representatives of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Nicaragua and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

The session was chaired by Georgi Atanasov.

Reported by BTA, PRAVDA

For the text of the communique issued by the 45th session of the CEMA carried by Sofia BTA English at 1855 GMT on 10 January, which is the same as the text carried by Moscow PRAVDA on page 6 of its 11 January First Edition, please see the Intrabloc Affairs section of the 11 January East Europe DAILY REPORT.

Alliance's Future Debated

LD1001181590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer Pavel Kasparov] I shall start my review of reports from abroad with a report from Sofia where the final sitting of the CEMA session was held this afternoon. I will remind you that this session was the 45th and it was postponed a number of times. Observers are joking today that every cloud has a silver lining because on 9 January it was in many ways different people who sat down at the negotiations table in Sofia. These were people heading governments which had received mandates from demanding and exacting bodies of representatives of the people. These were heads of governments who were directly responsible to the people and called upon to uphold not any old abstract ideas but the specific interests of their states. So, listen to a report from Viktor Samarin, our correspondent in Sofia:

[Samarin] Today, in the Sofia People's Palace of Culture, which has been given over to the participants in the session, stormy debates boiled over on how to transform this economic alliance, which has already passed its 40th anniversary. The participants of the meeting also discussed how to ensure that the alliance's principles, functions, organizations, and charter come into line with those processes of all-round renewal, which are occurring in the CEMA countries themselves.

All kinds of opinions were expressed, even the most radical ones, which clearly gave cause for certain Western news agencies—incidentally, mark you, more with bitterness than with the old familiar sarcasm of the past on such occasions—to suppose that the CEMA was close to breaking apart.

And yet, today the most inexorable opponents of socialism recognize the fact that the destabilization of communities which have developed in the world and particularly in Europe can only have negative repercussions for everyone. But the misgivings, one has to say, turned out to be unfounded.

The participants in the session were unanimous in the view that the CEMA is necessary, although its fundamental restructuring is just as necessary. In the final documents, which are already being published in the press, this unified position is expressed clearly enough, as is the support for the specific proposals put forward by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, who headed the Soviet delegation, on the CEMA's transition to transactions at world prices and in freely convertible currency, and the social reorientation of cooperation between the CEMA countries.

Meanwhile, a special commission, which was set up by a decision of the session and which has been instructed to work out in detail over 2 months a model of the all-round restructuring of the CEMA, already has gotten down to work.

Mladenov Receives Delegates

LD1001192790 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia January 10 TASS—Petr Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Central Committee and chairman of Bulgaria's State Council, today received the heads of the delegations who attended the 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

The meeting was attended by the heads of the delegations who took part in the session as observers.

The meeting was held in a friendly, cordial atmosphere.

Executive Committee Meets

LD1001203890 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia January 10 TASS—The 133rd meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was held here today. In addition to representatives of the CMEA member-countries, the meeting was attended by a Yugoslav representative in accordance with an agreement between CMEA and the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The meeting was opened by Chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee Andrey Lukanov. As the chair is taken in turn by representatives of each country, he turned over the chair, in accordance with the established order to Hungarian representative Peter Medgyessy.

The Executive Committee Discussed questions connected with the implementation of regulations adopted by the session of the CMEA Council at the 45th meeting in Sofia.

Ryzhkov Meets With Officials Before Departing

Romanian Premier Roman

PM1001125890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "N.I. Ryzhkov's Meeting With P. Roman"]

[Text] Sofia, 9 Jan—A meeting took place here today between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and P. Roman, member of the National Salvation Front Council and prime minister of Romania.

During the conversation there was an exchange of information on the situation in the Soviet Union and Romania.

N.I. Ryzhkov spoke of the measures being adopted in the USSR to further develop the political system. He also discussed the profound transformations in the economy that are being carried out under the government program.

P. Roman, for his part, reported on the most important decisions of the National Salvation Front Council aimed at stablizing the situation in the country and implementing priority tasks in the sphere of economic life. He expressed gratitude for the support for the revolutionary transformations being carried out by the Romanian people, as well as readiness to develop Romanian-Soviet relations on a fundamentally new basis.

The heads of government expressed the firm confidence that perestroyka in the USSR and the renewal processes in Romania offer favorable new opportunities for the development of cooperation between the countries both on a bilateral basis and on a multilateral basis within the CEMA framework.

Nicaraguan Minister Ruiz

LD1001184790 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia January 10 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, who attended the 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Sofia, today met Nicaraguan Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Henry Ruiz at his request.

During the conversation the ministers discussed the situation in Central America and prospects for a political settlement of the lengthy conflict in the region.

The Nicaraguan minister told Ryzhkov about the Sandinista Front's work in the interests of stabilising the situation in the country and preparing for the general elections in February this year.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership Ryzhkov voiced support for the Nicaraguan leadership's efforts aimed to secure, above all by political means, necessary conditions for the country's peaceful development, and wished Nicaraguan working people success in the accomplishment of the social and economic tasks the country faces.

Some urgent questions of the two countries' economic cooperation were examined.

Poland's Tadeusz Mazowiecki

LD1001192190 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia January 10 TASS—In a meeting here today, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and his Polish counterpart Tadeusz Mazowiecki reaffirmed the two countries' aspirations to develop bilateral economic ties on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual interest.

The two sides share the view that this goal will be served by the forthcoming adoption of payment on the basis of world prices in hard currency.

The first practical steps in this direction will be made this year.

Both heads of government stated their countries' commitment to changing international economic relations on the basis of equality and consideration for mutual interests.

The sides favoured a greater interrelationship of political, economic and humanitarian problems when they are analysed at various forums within the framework of the all-European process, including during preparations for the Helsinki-2 conference.

Their common view was that the planned measures to overhaul the mechanism of cooperation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member-countries will facilitate the creation of necessary conditions for their active involvement in all-European and world economic ties.

GDR's Hans Modrow

LD1001192590 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia January 10 TASS—In the framework of a session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov today met his German Democratic Republic counterpart Hans Modrow.

The heads of the governments informed each other of profound transformations in their two countries and discussed a number of topical foreign policy problems.

Modrow summed up the political situation in the GDR and measures to implement political reforms, democratise the society, stabilise the economy, and develop the social sphere.

The sides believe the processes of renewal in socialist countries exert a positive effect on the political climate in Europe.

At the same time it was emphasised that stability in Europe can be preserved and strengthened only on the basis of taking into consideration post-war realities, mutual respect for the choice of peoples and balancing the interests of all sovereign states.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the volume and nature of the economic ties between the two countries which are the biggest trading partners in the CMEA.

At the same time it was decided to step up the quest for new, more effective ways and forms of economic interaction on a bilateral and multilateral basis.

It was agreed to prepare for the use of a new system of settling accounts on the basis of world prices with the use of freely convertible currency.

The sides confirmed their support for the radical renewal of CMEA activity.

Bulgaria's Georgiy Atanasov

LD1001210190 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia January 10 TASS—Soviet Prime-Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov and his Bulgarian counterpart Georgiy Atanasov met here today.

The prime-ministers favourably assessed the discussion at the CMEA's 45th session and expressed the opinion that a fast renewal of the CMEA and its agencies met the requirements of the present-day political and economic life.

Radical changes in CMEA member-countries aimed at democratisation of socio-political and economic relations call for an underlayed renewal and elaboration of a relevant economic mechanism of cooperation.

Bilateral economic relations were discussed and satisfaction with their development was expressed.

The prime ministers deem it necessary to accelerate the signing of the annual protocol on trade and payments for 1990 and the preparatory work to coordinate plans for 1991-1995 in accordance with the principles agreed upon at the CMEA'S session.

Ryzhkov, Delegation Head Back to Moscow

LD1001162490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1536 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jan (TASS)—The Soviet delegation led by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Minsters, which has been taking part in the work of the 45th CEMA session, left Sofia for home today. The delegation comprises: N.P. Laverov and S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.E.

Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; V.S. Pavlov, USSR minister of finances; I.P. Aboymov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and Yu.P. Khomenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

The Soviet delegation was seen off at the airport by members of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo, G. Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, and A. Lukanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, other officials, and also V.V. Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

Ryzhkov's Comments on CEMA Session Reported

Session 'Crucial'

PM1001234190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, conducted by own correspondent L. Zhmyrev: "N.I. Ryzhkov PRAVDA Interview: Good Foundation Laid"]

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jan—The 45th session of the CEMA session has ended in Sofia. On its completion Soviet delegation head N.I. Ryzhkov gave an interview to PRAVDA.

I am not a believer in grand phrases, he said, but I do think that the 45th session of the CEMA session can really be described as out of the ordinary. It determines an abrupt turning point.

The session has really been a crucial one. Life has driven us into a corner. Either we take the requisite effective measures or we will remain the way we were. Perestroyka and reform have been launched in CEMA countries, and we should radically change and renew our mutual relations. The question is as follows: Either we really lose CEMA or we create a good economic organization built on new principles. I am firmly convinced that all the countries belonging to the Council understand that this international economic organization is vitally necessary for us. There was not a single speech at the session which maintained the contrary.

As far as the Soviet side is concerned, we gave clear reasons in support of our opinion that CEMA can no longer exist in its present form. Its entire mechanism is out of phase with the socioeconomic reforms taking place in the countries.

We saw this with our own eyes, in particular, when we were drawing up our economic recovery program, which was submitted for discussion to the Congress of People's Deputies. During the preparation of this program we analyzed the situation in depth and came to the conclusion that while economic reform inside the country is making progress—progress, albeit with difficulty—and positive prospects are shaping up, as far as foreign economic ties among CEMA countries are concerned no commensurate movement is observable. The conclusion? Radical changes in the structure, functions, and whole financial and economic mechanism of our cooperation are essential.

Let me cite the following instance. Three years ago, when we started implementing serious changes in our foreign economic ties, we had great difficulty in directing our exports. We put down in the plans for enterprises and organizations the output of high-quality, competitive products for the international market, and all this was strictly monitored. However, we came to the conclusion that the enterprises had little interest in sending their goods to the international market.

Now that enterprises and organizations are able to access the international market on their own—without middlemen—and to engage directly in foreign trade, and to maintain foreign economic ties, our export activity is showing a real boom despite all the shortcomings accompanying this process. The country's leadership is even subject quite often to accusations that we have overdone things in this regard and that certain restrictions should be introduced and exports regulated to ensure that the domestic market does not suffer.

Here it should be made clear that, for the time being, this concerns relations with Western capitalist countries and, as a phenomenon, should be assessed very positively, although like any process it does need regulation. It turns out that we have found a suitable mechanism that encourages our enterprises and national economic sectors to develop relations with the Western market to a far greater extent than ever before, and this has been of definite benefit.

Thus it is necessary to find in our cooperation with socialist countries a mechanism that will ultimately influence the effectiveness of our economic ties.

It is a fact that our enterprises currently have no interest in trade with socialist countries. In trading, say, with Czechoslovakia, we obtain korunas, but an enterprise cannot freely buy what it needs with them.

In other words, a real market is needed. The presence of commodity exchange among our countries still does not mean that we have a market. If there is no competitiveness, there is no constant striving to improve the quality of products. The flexibility that is so necessary in this work is lacking.

In the final analysis we are all lagging behind the developed countries and can see the defects of a mechanism which predetermines the simple exchange of all kinds of products. Does this match modern requirements? Of course not. We will never catch up to the developed countries if we do not develop a strong efficient mechanism for collaboration which will make us all work properly. But how are we to achieve this?

I want first and foremost to stress that a firm and united opinion emerged in Sofia that the position needs to be

radicallv changed. There are nuances here, of course. Cuba, tor example, expressed the opinion that the status quo in CEMA should be maintained. The Cuban side considers that one should not go over to world prices and make payments in convertible currency in reciprocal trade.

I said at the session and again note here that three countries—Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam—need a special approach and we must find special solutions. That, however, does not mean that we should not adopt any general decisions on changing the cooperation mechanism in view of the difference of standpoi.its of those countries from the remaining CEMA members. We appreciate that we need to help them, but at the same time need to seek on the whole new approaches. This stance was firmly supported by Mongolia and Vietnam.

Differences of opinion regarding the timeframe for the adoption of the necessary steps appeared at the session. For example, the Czechoslovak side expressed the desire that a special commission should submit, by the end of February or the beginning of March this year, a document regarding the reorganization of CEMA's activity. At the same time the CSSR expressed readiness to switch to the principle of reciprocal settlements as proposed by the Soviet Union only at the end of the next 5-year plan period, and not as of 1991. Viewpoints were expressed that each country has its own specific features, that it is necessary to move over to bilateral relations, and so forth.

I want to be properly understood: The task is not to destroy everything in 1991 and then create a new CEMA on the ruins, so to speak. On the contrary we are obliged to make fundamental decisions, reason out everything carefully, weigh everything, and move confidently via definite stages to avoid getting into trouble or tumbling into an economic crisis, or somthing akin to that.

In conclusion I want to observe once again that this sitting of the CEMA session was essential and tolerated no delay. Fundamental issues were examined on the radical transformation of CEMA, and of its structure, functions, and financial and economic mechanism. The unanimous opinion was expressed that we need to restructure ourselves radically, for otherwise CEMA would lose its meaning.

We are pleased with the results of the session. A good foundation has been laid for future transformations, for the radical reform of the mechanism of our cooperaiton, and this inspires optimism.

Session 'Unusual'

LD1001215790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1915 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Jan (TASS special correspondent)—Today, at the People's Palace of Culture, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is here taking part in the 45th CEMA session, met with Bulgarian and Soviet journalists at their request.

Opening the meeting, Ryzhkov said: Esteemed comrades, I am pleased to hold this meeting with you. It is a very busy time, stretched to the limit. But we need to have a talk today. Evidently you have questions to which you would like to receive answers. I shall not make a long speech.

First, I want to say a few words about the CEMA session. It is ending today, decisions will be adopted, and we must do everything to ensure that these decisions are implemented.

How we appraise this session:

In our opinion, this session is an unusual one, out of the ordinary. I would say this is a crucial session in the life of our community. It is quite obvious that it has laid the foundation of our new future economic relations.

We have been preparing for this session for a long time. Already, several years ago, we had started to stress that the existing foreign economic relations of socialist countries did not suit us; they lag markedly behind the processes which had already begun to take place in some socialist countries and later in others. Therefore, those traditional economic relations which had taken shape among countries which were based fundamentally on goods turnover and not on trade, were gradually entering into direct contradiction with those economic reforms which existed and which were being implemented in the countries.

In 1988-89, we in the Soviet Union began the practical implementation of economic reform. We could see for ourselves that our foreign economic ties with the socialist countries had entered into a direct contradiction. So we approached this session with a definite position, with a definite platform.

Some 3 years ago, we instructed the CEMA Executive Committee to draft proposals. Unfortunately, the proposals which we were given were half-baked. They did not match up to the present-day requirements, and so we hardly discussed them.

The transformations taking place in the socialist countries served as the spur for this session. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we could see this for ourselves once more, when we were drafting the government program for the Second Congress of People's Deputies.

We worked quite long and thoroughly on this program. When we had made a thorough analysis and viewed the road ahead, we came to the conclusion that one of the future hindrances would be the existing economic relations with the CEMA member countries.

The transformations which have taken place in our country in the sphere of foreign economic ties show that quite radical changes are taking place in this area.

The process of foreign economic activities has begun to develop very rapidly in our country. Enterprises find foreign partners, work quite intensively with them, and conclude mutually advantageous deals. But all this pertains only to capitalist countries. As for the socialist

countries—our community—there is no such economic interest here. And here the process has essentially gone into decline. That is why having had a preliminary exchange of views with the heads of governments of many countries, we have decided that we need to submit some sort of radical measures to create a new mechanism. This is the way the question stands: Either we really create an effective mechanism of foreign economic activities among the CEMA countries, or the CEMA will completely lose its significance as such. This is a reality. It is our view that the CEMA ought to live. We need this organization, but in a different form. That is why we proposed precisely this agenda for the meeting of the CEMA session.

Therefore, when the work of the session began, the proposed agenda was set aside because it was decided to talk about fundamental questions of cooperation—that is, of the work of the CEMA. In my view, this is the first time for many years that such a frank discussion has taken place, when each country expressed its ideas with complete frankness. In our view this discussion was necessary, and it will allow us at least to make our positions more precise. Leaving aside certain details, all the heads of government are inclined toward the view that we need to reform the CEMA. Therefore, we set up a commission which should, in the very near future, elaborate and prepare radical proposals to resolve various questions. The USSR's participant in the work of this commission will be Comrade Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and an academician. The commission has the task of drawing up a new charter in the very near future for the CEMA and the bases of an economic mechanism so that these issues can be examined at a routine meeting of the council.

The Soviet side has submitted a proposal that starting from 1991, we should in our mutual relations, both bilateral and multilateral, proceed from the following principles: First, to go over to world prices; second, to conduct our settlements in a freely convertible currency. Of course, the question arises as to why we are going along precisely this path, especially with regard to payments in freely convertible currency. The fact that we must go over to world prices is quite evident. If we intend to really join in world economic ties—and we have a firm position on this—then some sort of mechanisms are necessary which would be commensurate with the ties and mechanisms which exist in the world. The existing difference in prices, when prices in effect do not reflect the actual consumer qualities of particular goods, does not allow us to trade properly and to implement integration. Therefore, it is necessary to go over to world prices.

The second thing is payments. Why are we going in for payments in freely convertible currency? Of course, it would be better if our national currencies were convertible.

But if we look realistically at the development of our economies, then the prospects of going over to convertibility of national currencies in the course of 1 or 2 years are absolutely unrealistic; they are just illusions. It is necessary for the economy to reach a stage where prices are close to world prices and for a definite market to be created. Therefore, it seems it is necesary, beginning from 1991, to conduct settlements in freely convertible currency.

The transfer to these fundamental principles is a very complicated path; therefore, we voiced our thoughts, which were supported by virtually all the heads of government, that this should be achieved step by step. It is impossible to manage without steps here. Otherwise, we could totally ruin the economies of many countries. We are all friends, we are all in the same community, and therefore we should take account of each other's interests. The Soviet side considers that it will take about 3 years for such a smooth changeover. Apart from that, we consider it necessary to give very serious thought to bilateral relations.

That is to say, we believe that a common foundation has been laid, and it is on the basis of this foundation that we will have to take account of all possibilities for specific conditions in the area of bilateral relations. Of course, we will be facing a situation that is far from simple with three countries—with Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam. We must approach these countries with a special yardstick. When changing over to world prices we will evidently have to grant certain privileges to Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam so that they can gradually improve economically.

On the whole, we are satisfied with the mission. We believe that a very serious foundation has been laid. We hope that the next session will improve both the new charter and the new mechanism of mutual cooperation, and, in that way, we will go forward. If we do not do this we will, at best, be marking time.

Question: What is your attitude to the restructuring processes in Bulgaria?

Reply: After our arrival by air, we had a detailed conversation with Comrades Mladenov and Atanasov. We were briefed on the processes which are now taking place in Bulgarian society. Our attitude to them is one of great understanding; We are welcoming what is being done here. We would very much like to find a solution to the problems which have arisen today as quickly as possible in order for society to indeed take a path of genuine democracy, of democratic socialism. We believe that Bulgaria has such potentialities. We understand all the difficulties which exist, particularly on the nationalities question, but one has to surmount these. That is why we welcome the changes which are taking place in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Question: Where is the main key for launching the new mechanism of cooperation?

Reply: I think that the fundamental question will lie in how vigorously the enterprises, that is to say the primary economic link, respond to the new conditions in our countries' foreign economic ties. If they dash to the market—if a real market is created in the socialist community—I believe that that is 70 percent of the victory.

Question: How, in your opinion, will the changes taking place in the countries of Eastern Europe affect CEMA's development?

Reply: It is precisely these changes which to a considerable extent have promoted the adoption of new decisions on the CEMA. If this process of economic and political reforms had proceeded more slowly, the question of the CEMA would perhaps not be so acute today.

Previously we were deciding everything at government level. But a government simply cannot reach each enterprise. It is necessary that the enterprises themselves are able to integrate. It is necessary to use the most immense potential which has been created in Bulgaria and in the Soviet Union, and to integrate it even more profoundly.

Second, even though we are planning the changeover to hard currency, to world prices, from 1991 onwards, long-term relations must also continue to operate at the same time. We have come to an agreement with the leadership of the Bulgarian People's Republic on long-term agreements—say, on the production of wine for 10 to 15 years. Vineyards will be planted accordingly, and we will purchase wine on a long-term basis, inasmuch as we have had and will continue to have a shortage of our own wine. I think that long-term agreements will also be necessary for electronics. Briefly, I see very great prospects for cooperation with Bulgaria.

Question: What position would the USSR adopt if certain external or internal forces made an attempt to turn Bulgaria into a second Cyprus? Second, what is your position with regard to the Bularian Kozloduy Nuclear Electric Power Station, and in general, what is the USSR's position on the development of nuclear power?

Reply: I am firmly convinced that ethnic issues can be solved only by political means. All other ways are dead ends, or could lead to impermissible phenomena. In Bulgaria, too, the ethnic issue which has now become exacerbated should be resolved by political means, by means of dialogue. As far as a second Cyprus is concerned, I think that in our times, when it has been clearly stated that the Helsinki agreements are in operation, when unshakeable postwar borders exist, it is absolutely unrealistic and impermissible today to think of dividing something up and tarnsferring something to somebody or to organize new entities. All the more so when it concerns our neighbor Turkey, which also took part in the Helsinki process. I think that there are no serious grounds for such far reaching conclusions. No one will permit this.

With regard to nuclear power stations, I count myself among those people who consider that the future of power engineering depends on the development of nuclear power. We consider that it should continue to be developed. But this does not mean that we should not occupy ourselves with improving it, especially with regard to the safety of this type of energy. Here it is necessary to consolidate efforts with other countries. I think that there is more danger from thermal power stations than from nuclear power. On the specific subject of Kozolduy, we have an agreement with the Bulgarian side about carrying out modernization. This applies to the first four water-cooled-440 sets which were built in accordance with the designs of that time. It is now necessary to pay particular attention to questions of safety, and then this form of power will be totally acceptable.

Question: Would you please tell us about the process of reforming the CEMA and give us your assessment of the plans to create a Warsaw-Prague-Budapest "triangle"?

Reply: One prime minister said to me jokingly today that we should set up two CEMA's, and that the USSR should take part in both of them. I do not know how reliable the suppositions are about the creation of a Warsaw-Prague-Budapest triangle. I heard a different version today—for example, a CSSR-GDR-FRG triangle. All of these are merely suppositions. Of course, all the countries will cooperate with each other, but this does not mean that they will not cooperate with Western Europe and with other capitalist or developing countries. No one has forbidden the development of these relations. I would just like to say that to leave the CEMA or to destroy established links just for the sake of it would be ruinous. We are integrated and interlinked to such an extent, that to destroy these links today one would have to destroy one's whole economy. Major integrational processes took place over a period of almost 40 years and they did not take place without result. To consider leaving the community today and not maintaining any relations is equivalent to suicide. This is clear to everyone who thinks soberly.

The CEMA is necessary to us, and the community, too, is essential. All the heads of government understand this. Particular statements have been made. For example, the Czechoslovak representatives say that for the present they are remaining in the CEMA. However, if it is not attractive to them and does not have a charter and a mechanism to their liking, then they reserve the right to not participate in the CEMA. Well then, that is their affair. But first we have to work out the charter and the mechanism to make them really attractive. But no one is forcing anyone to be in the CEMA.

N.I. Ryzhkov also replied to other questions from journalists.

Sees 'Breakthrough' in CEMA

LD1101112390 Moscow World Service in English 0910 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Report on interview with Nikolay Ryzhkov, USSR prime minister, by Moscow World Service 10 January on his return to Moscow from the CEMA conference in Sofia]

[Text] The 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has ended in Sofia. The Soviet prime minister, Nikolay Ryzhkov upon his return to Moscow, granted an interview to Radio Moscow's correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov. Before leaving for

Sofia, Prime Minister Ryzkhov said that the session was going to be unusual and unconventional. To what extent was the forecast justified? Nikolay Ryzkhov:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] That forecast proved absolutely correct. We abandoned the agenda announced earlier, the customary one, which consisted of signing agreements and reviewing the results. We decided to discuss the fundamental aspects of the council's future activities. I believe that that was a special session. It will go down in history as a breakthrough, as a transition from outdated modes of operations to dramatically new ones. One can say that the Soviet session laid a new foundation for the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.[end recording]

Nikolay Ryzhkov said further that the participants of the session had different views on the principles of the council's future operation. However, the differences were not very serious ones. For instance, the Soviet Union suggested following world prices in all transactions. A number of speakers, including delegates from Czechoslovakia, said that in their view the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance will be ready for that transition no earlier than 1996. Other countries said that convertible currencies should be used in some transactions and avoided in others. Nikolay Ryzhkov said he was certain that a common language could be found. He said that there were quite a few rumors about this operation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance lately. Some said that the session was gathering in order to disband the council. The Sofia conference of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance proved that such claims were groundless. Prime Minister Ryzhkov repeatedly emphasized the idea that the Sofia meeting had laid a solid foundation for the council's future activity.

Intentions for 1990

LD1001215990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Report by Correspondent D. Golovanov in Sofia on the CEMA session; from the "Vremya" newscast; video shows CEMA session proceedings and Ryzhkov addressing news conference]

[Text] CEMA is beginning a new period. A special commission has been instructed to prepare proposals on the basic renewal of CEMA on the basis of market relations among the countries, the deepening of genuine integration, and the introduction into circulation of convertible currency in mutual settlements.

Today, after the conclusion of the session's work, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, the head of the Soviet delegation, met a group of journalists accredited to CEMA.

[Begin recording] [Golovanov] The old garments of economic relations are tearing at the seams, hindering movement and bursting. From your point of view, what is the key to launching a new mechanism of cooperation; and, all the same, how soon can it happen?

[Ryzhkov] I agree with you that our garments are indeed tearing at the seams, and practically we cannot in any way get into these suits with new reforms. Therefore, the fact that this session has taken place is an objective necessity. It is a necessity which we must now evade. Otherwise, we shall simply be deceiving ourselves and our people.

What is the main thing? In my opinion, the main thing is to prepare for 1990. The year 1990 has been formed among our countries—relations among the countries—on the old, traditional methods. We believe that 1990 should not be broken up today. It has begun, you know. Therefore, it will only be harmful for all the countries to enter 1990, to start changing something very sharply or to make some sort of very sharp corrections. So, we must live and work according to those old principles in 1990, as we have agreed, but not waste 1990 in preparing for the next 5-year period, for 1991. That is the most important thing. I have already said that we are setting up bilateral commissions, bilateral groups, among all the countries to put the final touches to specific points, and I think that the fundamental question will be how actively enterprises, the primary element in the economy, get involved in the socialist countries' foreign economic ties. If it dashes into the market in 1991 and a genuine market is created in our socialist community, I regard that as 70 percent of the victory. [end recording]

TASS Reports on Gerasimov's 10 Jan Briefing

U.S. Statement on Angola

LD1001173890 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman today described a recent U.S. statement on Angola as an "attempt to divert the attention of the international public from the U.S. gross violation of international law and generally accepted norms of conduct by the invasion of Panama and to create a pretext for continuing illegitimate actions in Angola."

Gennadiy Gerasimov was commenting on a State Department statement alleging that Soviet advisers participated in combat actions in southern Angola.

"The Soviet Union states with responsibility that there are no Soviet advisers in the zone of the current fighting in southern Angola," he said.

"The Soviet Union considers that the Angolan conflict can, and must be, settled only by political means and that the Gbadolite accords, reached at the June 1989 meeting of some African countries, offer a realistic basis for developing the intra-Angolan dialogue with a view to achieving peace and stability in the country."

Gerasimov emphasised that the continuing American military aid to the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group is "the main cause of tension in Angola and the main obstacle to national accord in the country."

Paris Meeting on Cambodia

LD1001223390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—The meeting of deputy foreign ministers from the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to discuss Cambodia, which begins in Paris next week, is called upon to continue the process of providing a settlement in that country which was begun by the International Conference on Cambodia last year. This was stated at a briefing today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He said that the Soviet delegation to that meeting will be headed by Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister. The initiative for holding the meeting came from James Baker, U.S. secretary of state.

Gerasimov stressed that the USSR is in favor of intensifying talks at all levels—inter-Khmer, regional, and international. He noted that the superpowers can play an important role in finding solutions to the situation in Cambodia, and in elaborating guarantees for a Cambodian settlement.

Japanese Defense Policy

LD1001230590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—At a briefing today Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, expressed the hope that in the statement by the chief of the Japanese National Defense Agency [NDA] "he was really speaking about a departure by the Japanese military department from its previous point of view toward a defense policy." As is known, NDA chief Juro Matsumoto stated that his country's military policy might be reviewed in light of the changes in East-West relations. The head of the Japanese military department also pointed out that the NDA should review the question of whether to formulate its military plans on the basis of old strategic concepts.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman drew attention to the NDA's earlier decision to reduce by 2,000 men the contingent of ground troops in Hokkaido, the northernmost island of the Japanese archipelago, emphasizing at the same time that this measure has been occasioned chiefly by the easing of tension in the international arena.

In making a positive appraisal of all these steps, Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed that the Japanese military department's previous point of view regarding the country's defense policy was in contrast with the overall background of an improvement in the international situation and the trend toward detente in the military-political sphere.

French Embassy in Kabul

LD1001174490 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Moscow January 10 TASS—United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar will address the opening session of the International Spiritual Parliamentary Leaders Forum for Development and Human Survival in Moscow on January 15, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a press briefing here today.

Delegates and guests from more than 80 countries are expected to take part in the forum, Gerasimov said. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union, Gerasimov said, noted the statement of French Deputy Foreign Minister Edwige Avice in Pakistan that officially confirmed that France would be the first Western country to reopen its embassy in Kabul at the charge d'affaires level. "In our opinion, the return of French diplomats to Kabul could become a factor facilitating the adjustment of full-blooded dialogue between the Afghan Government and the world community," he noted.

Perez de Cuellar Address

LD1001143790 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar will address the opening of the international forum "On the Environment and Development for Survival" in Moscow on January 15, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov told reporters that the forum will be attended by delegates and guests from more than 80 countries, including UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor, prominent politicians, scientists and religious figures.

On January 13-14 journalists will hold a seminar in Moscow to discuss coverage of the global problems of the environment and survival.

'Open Skies' Flight Over Hungary Reported

PM0901122390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Lukyanov report: "Hercules' Flight and the 'Open Skies' Program"]

[Text] Budapest—In a 3-hour flight in Hungarian airspace a gigantic Canadian Air Force Hercules aircraft flew across most of Hungary's territory, also loitering over military facilities. But this time the alarm was not sounded and interceptor aircraft did not take off.

The explanation for this at first glance unusual event recorded in Hungarian airspace last weekend is as follows. For the first time in the sky of a country belonging to one military-political bloc there appeared an aircraft from a country in another military-political bloc, not for any spying purposes, but for conducting an experiment under the "Open Skies" program.

The opportunity for aircraft without weapons to have free access to the airspace of any country should show the world community what the concept of openness means in reality. That was how the idea of the "open skies" concept was formed many years ago. In May last year, in one of his speeches, President Bush once again raised the question of this concept which, it should be said, also met with a positive response from the Soviet Union.

In the opinion of specialists, flights of unarmed aircraft conducted on a voluntary and reciprocal basis with the aim of monitoring the fulfillment of international agreements from the air would strengthen to a significant degree trust between states. As was stated by journalists [as published] in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, in February this year there will be an international conference in Ottawa at which the main question on the agenda will be problems of monitoring.

In this respect the current flight of the Canadian Hercules over Hungarian territory is an important experiment before the February conference. During the flight, according to a statement by its organizers, flight safety procedures were rehearsed, communications were checked, and permissible altitudes from which the sides could carry out monitoring by mutual agreement also were established. Judging from statements by Canadian and Hungarian specialists participating in that flight, the first experiment in the "Open Skies" program was successful.

United States & Canada

U.S. Central American 'Mistakes' Worsening Tension

LD1001184290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1240 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—TASS Political Observer Nikolay Chigir writes:

Official Washington is trying to prove the unprovable. According to assertions by its representatives, the U.S. armed intervention in Panama and the accompanying aggressive sallies by the U.S. military against a number of diplomatic representations in that country are allegedly actions in accord with the norms of international law. Thus, Margaret Tutwiler of the U.S. State Department replied to a request from journalists to comment on the resolution of the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States [OAS] which resolutely condemns the seizure by U.S. troops of the residence of the Nicaraguan ambassador in Panama. She stated: "We fully support the observation of diplomatic immunity and international laws".

So there it is; truly holy innocence! But who will believe in it? Nor can anyone be deluded by Washington's assertion that, allegedly, the incursion of U.S. troops into the residence of the ambassador of Nicaragua was the result of a "mistake". Without mentioning that such planned "mistakes" lead to an exacerbation in the already tense situation in Central America, they can entail considerable human losses. There are rather too many "mistakes" committed by Washington. The U.S. military in Panama have demonstratively hindered the normal activity of the embassies of Nicaragua, the Vatican, Cuba, and Libya. A threatening situation is now arising around the Peruvian Embassy which is surrounded by U.S. troops.

The OAS, which has condemned the U.S. armed intervention in Panama and the crude U.S. violation of the diplomatic immunity of the Nicaraguan representation, has thus expressed the growing alarm in Latin American countries in connection with the recidivist U.S. strongarm policy in the Western hemisphere, a policy which is becoming increasingly dangerous in character. At the same time, the OAS decisions reflect the adherence of the overwhelming majority of Latin America republics to the norms of international law and their resolve to obtain the absolute observation of these norms by the United States. However, Washington is not at all prepared to pay heed to this opinion of the Latin Americans. What is more, this opinion is giving rise to unconcealed annoyance, as is shown by the utterances of Margaret Tutwiler who, in an attempt to distort the essence of the OAS decision, described it as a manifestation of "anti-American propaganda".

These dodges by Washington are in vain. It will not manage to camouflage the true scale of the tragic consequences of the aggression for the Panamanian people, either. Until very recently, Washington totally avoided talking about the Panamanians who had been killed. But, finally, it has been forced to admit that people have been killed—and quite a lot of them. However, even now attempts are being made to considerably understate the number of victims of U.S. aggression. According to the assertion by the U.S. Southern Command, some 500 Panamanians died. However, according to Raul Esscoffer, acting director of the Panamanian human rights commission, the number of dead among the civilian population alone amounts to 2,000. That is the price of a U.S.-style observation of the norms of international law.

Reportage on Proposed Blockade of Colombia

Seen as Part of Wider Plan

PM1101101390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Reports by own correspondents V. Gan in Washington and A. Zagorskiy in Lima: "The U.S. Armada Gets Up Steam"]

[Text] Washington—On orders from the White House, the Pentagon planned a naval blockade of Colombia in order to seize drugs, approximately 80% of which go from that country to the United States. Last Thursday the aircraft carrier *John F. Kennedy* cast off in Norfolk, Virginia, accompanied by a missile cruiser and auxiliary ships. The orders were unequivocal: Take up position off the Colombian coast to intercept ships and aircraft if there is a suspicion that they have drugs on board.

According to those Administration aides who agreed to say something in response to your correspondent's questions, Washington's plan was dictated by President G. Bush's desire to "block" the drug route to the United States. One thing seems to have been ignored: Since Colombia is a sovereign country, blockading its borders, at sea or on land, without seeking its agreement is simply unacceptable. To Washington's annoyance, this sparked off an extremely adverse reaction, obviously exacerbated by the recent U.S. invasion of Panama. The capital's press writes that Colombian President Barco and his government have made a strong protest against the U.S. plans. "And all this coincides with the suspicion, heightened feeling, and overt annoyance in Latin America as a result of the Panamanian action," a CBS television commentator said.

What is the overall situation now? The Colombian government is protesting against plans not yet implemented, the U.S. aircraft carrier group is drifting on the ocean, waiting for an order from the Pentagon, and there is no concerted opinion in the Administration as to what to do next.

For the Latin American public the invasion of Panama was a warning of the possibility of U.S. armed adventures in the Latin American countries. People in the region were particularly wary when they heard U.S. Deputy Secretary of State L. Eagleburger commenting in

a television interview on the statement by R. Dole, Republican leader in the Senate, to the effect that the "lesson of Panama" should scare Nicaraguan President D. Ortega. "That is a point of view. I would not argue with the minority leader in the Senate," Eagleburger said.

Perhaps, as far as Washington is concerned, the planned action off the Colombian coast has a second, hidden aspect: to make it clear to the Latin American countries that there is no intention of being particularly nice to them in the future.

Lima—The news caused serious concern in Colombia. Neither the statements by the U.S. side to the effect that this was not a naval blockade of Colombia at all and that the U.S. warships did not intend to enter Colombian territorial waters, nor the assurances that all this was being done merely to warn the relevant services of the need for careful checks by "plotting" the routes of suspicious ships and aircraft did anything to reduce the anxiety. It appears that the explanations that not a single step would be taken without Colombia's agreement had no effect either. But the Colombian Government, which is adopting a whole series of measures to combat the drugs mafia, announced that it would not allow U.S. ships to operate in territorial waters. It was also stated that even in international waters Colombian ships cannot be detained without President Virgilio Barco's authorization. According to Colombian Foreign Minister Julio Londono, the United States will be responsible for any breach of international law.

Sending warships to the Colombian coast is to all appearances just part of the Pentagon plan. It is clear from press reports that it also intends to install radar in the Andes—on the territory of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia—to gather information on secret airfields and airstrips belonging to the drug mafia and also on smugglers' aircraft. This information, representatives of the U.S. military department claim, would be for the Colombian, Peruvian, and Bolivian authorities. But are we talking only about contraband? Is it not a covert attempt by the Pentagon to strengthen its positions on the territory of sovereign states?

Colombia's strong reaction to the possibility of a surprise "visit" by a U.S. squadron is entirely understandable, particularly in view of the recent U.S. military invasion of Panama. There is nothing surprising in the fact that many people in the region are apprehensive that the Pentagon's plan could in fact turn out to be a method of increasing the U.S. military presence on the Latin American continent.

Bush-Barco Phone Talk

LD1101100490 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Washington January 11 TASS—In an effort to dispel tensions with Colombia, U.S. President George Bush telephoned President Virgilio Barco, telling him that the United States did not intend to engage in any actions in Colombian territorial waters, White House spokesman Roman Popadiuk announced on Wednesday.

Relations between the U.S. and Colombia turned sour late last week following press reports about Washington's intention to blockade Colombia in its mounting campaign against drug smugglers.

Last Thursday the U.S. aircraft carrier John F. Kennedy and the Virginia missile carrier left Norfolk, Virginia, for Colombian waters. They stopped near Florida when Bogota refused to allow the U.S. to operate in its territorial waters.

The United States will not take any action without the complete approval and support of the Colombian Government. There were no plans for a "blockade," Popadiuk said.

According to the spokesman, Bush told Barco that, contrary to press allegations, he had never ordered these maneuvers.

The two presidents lamented the fact that false and deluding reports about preliminary U.S. proposals to cooperate with the Colombian Government produced this misunderstanding, he said.

Barco said that he was certain that President Bush would never approve of actions infringing on the Colombian sovereignty, according to the statement.

In turn, Bush assured Barco that the United States will take no actions without preliminary consultations with Colombia and that assure its cooperation.

An official member of the Bush Administration, who asked not to be identified, said that Washington still hopes to use the USS John F. Kennedy and the Virginia to control the drug traffic from Colombia, which is the main exporter of cocaine to the United States.

The operation has been frozen until consultations with Colombians are over, the official said. "We are sure it will continue, probably later in the winter," he said.

His words reveal that the United States intended to carry out an operation off Colombian coast, dubbed "blockade" in the press, although President Bush might have not have known about it.

Army Daily Attacks U.S. Global War Scenario

PM1001161590

[Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 9 January, in its First Edition, carries on page 3 under the new rubric "Military Problems in Foreign Periodicals" and the headline "War With the Soviets Will Be Global" an abridged version of a 1,100-word article by Captain (Dale Aykmayer) published in the U.S. military journal ARMY. (Aykmayer) argues that planning for a future war with the Soviets should be in a

global perspective rather than focusing merely on Europe. He advocates a "Pacific strategy" to force the Soviet Union to fight on two fronts, and the exploitation of perceived Soviet weaknesses such as relations with China and the unrest in Central Asia. The article is accompanied by the following commentary by A. Golts under the headline "Are They Seriously Preparing?":

"Of course, it was no accident that we chose this article to launch the rubric. Featured in one of last year's issues of the journal ARMY under the headline 'We Need A More Effective Strategy in the Pacific Region,' it differs in the most resolute fashion both in content and in tone from what has recently been said and written about Soviet-U.S. relations. Indeed, both Moscow and Washington are now talking about how to move away from the 'cold war' and about how to build a world where subversive activities, pressure, interference, and armed invasions would be ruled out.

"The discussion in the article is quite different. It is about how to fight the Soviet Union. The writer looks at what he sees as the strong and weak points of the 'potential enemy'—that is, our country. I admit that we have grown somewhat unaccustomed to such candor. We are so unaccustomed to it that some people are already claiming that nobody in the West plans to fight our country, and demanding that we draw the relevant conclusions. Yet Capt (Aykmayer), as is clear from the article, is seriously preparing for such a fight. And he is not alone.

"If we talk about the content of the article, the writer is, of course, wrong to claim that the Pentagon's war scenarios are limited to Europe. It is apposite to recall that in the Asia region U.S. Armed Forces have conducted real combat operations rather than training exercises: during the aggression in Korea and Indochina. There is now special interest in the Pacific region. Having encountered a real opportunity to substantially cut armed forces and armaments in Europe, the U.S. military leadership is seriously examining the prospects for stepping up its military activeness in Asia and the Pacific. In this way the Pentagon would like to retain the possibility of exerting strong-arm pressure on the Soviet Union. It is no accident that it is using every excuse to avoid talks on limiting military activities in the East.

"On the contrary, the 500,000 U.S. servicemen deployed across the Pacific receive the most modern arms systems. At the same time an extensive administrative reorganization is under way. First and foremost, the effectiveness of ground forces is being enhanced. The creation of a special U.S. ground forces command in the Pacific has just been completed.

"The idea of the ARMY article's author of a global military conflict to be waged simultaneously in Europe and Asia has also been specifically outlined. Last fall the 'Autumn Forge '89' maneuvers in Europe were held at the same time as the military 'Pasex '89' demonstrations, in which 200,000 servicemen, hundreds of combat aircraft, and several naval battle groups took part. Work was also found for the ground forces. After all, the maneuvers rehearsed the capture of the Soviet Kuril Islands. That is, the idea of an 'open' stretch of Soviet territory in the Pacific excites not only the Army captain.

"U.S. allies in the region—Japan, South Korea, Thailand, and the Philippines—also took part in these maneuvers. I do not know why (Aykmayer) talks about Japanese neutrality. In actual fact, as has repeatedly been stated in Washington, bilateral agreements with Tokyo are one of the foundations of U.S. strategy in Asia. Japan has pledged to participate in blockading international straits in the Far East in the event of an 'emergency situation.'

"Another point is that, unlike those in Europe, U.S. bilateral military ties in the area are not based on a multilateral military bloc such as NATO. Deciding not to strive for such unification for political reasons, the Pentagon is nonetheless trying to conduct matters in such a way that these countries' armed forces collaborate in practice—under U.S. leadership, of course.

"Now to what (Aykmayer) considers to be the Soviet Union's 'weak spots.' It must be said that here too he is not making any great discovery. In the seventies Washington spared no effort to exploit Soviet-Chinese antagonism for its global strategy. However, we have already entered the nineties. Relations between the USSR and the PRC have now been normalized. Moreover, the sides have expressed the intention to reduce their armed forces in the border region to a minimum. So it is hardly serious to count on any confrontation between the USSR and China.

"As to hoping for interethnic conflict in our country, I leave that to the writer's conscience. There is no reason to get annoyed in this instance. After all, the entire article is based not on the logic of normal interstate relations but on the logic of war. And a war is a war: You reckon on anything that could weaken a 'potential enemy.'

"We should not forget these calculations today."

Bush Trade Representative Remarks on Bloc Status

PM1001172990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Problems of Trade With USSR"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Jan—The United States is examining the question of developing trade relations with the Soviet Union, and also with the countries of East Europe, Carla Hills, the President's trade talks representative, reported here Monday [8 January] at a news conference.

According to her, various special interagency groups are having consultations "analyzing variants of a trade agreement" with the Soviet Union.

"We are trying to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on the question of most-favored-nation status in trade before deciding the question of granting it observer status in GATT [General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs]," Carla Hills said. The President's representative gave a negative response to the question of whether there are substantial differences on this question in the administration. She stressed that, in President Bush's opinion, giving the USSR observer status within the GATT framework will be a useful step because "it will enable the USSR to get an idea of how countries with market economies interact with one another."

Commenting on these statements, UPI, citing spokesmen from Hills' department, notes that the United States will not give the USSR most-favored-nation status until Congress repeals the Jackson-Vanik amendment. This amendment strictly limits trade with the Soviet Union and directly links the removal of trade barriers with USSR emigration policy.

'Failure' of Baker Plan in Mideast Seen

LD1001122990 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Albert Balebanov commentary]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

U.S. efforts to arrange direct talks between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) are on the verge of failure.

This was admitted last Tuesday by Secretary of State James Baker. During a meeting visiting Norwegian foreign minister, Baker said, according to REUTERS NEWS AGENCY, that he was losing any hope for Israeli-Palestinian talks and added that he would have to abandon his initiative shortly.

As a consequence, the long-planned meeting that the U.S. secretary of state wanted to hold in Washington with Israeli and Egyptian foreign ministers to work out specific moves towards the implementation of his plan also became problematic.

This setback has been brought about not only by deep divergence in the interpretation of the "Baker Plan" between Egypt, Israel and the United States, although they played their negative role in torpedoing Baker's efforts.

Egypt, which was to represent the PLO's interests during the planned meeting in Washington, insisted in particular on the participation of a Palestinian delegation, the make-up of which would be determined exclusively by the PLO, in talks with Israel.

Israel rejected the demand, limiting the make-up of a Palestinian delegation only to representatives of the population of the occupied territories.

The main cause of the impasse, in which the "Baker Plan" has found itself, is that it was based entirely on the "Shamir population of the occupied territories.

The main cause of the impasse, in which the "Baker Plan" has found itself, is that it was based entirely on the "Shamir Plan" which was categorically rejected by the PLO as utterly unacceptable and did not envisage that an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue would become a preparatory step towards an international Middle East conference under U.N. auspices.

As far as the essence of the "Baker Plan" and of its virtual twin—the "Shamir Plan"—is concerned, the main drawback seems to be that neither aimed to guarantee the Palestinians' future independence and did not take into account their aspirations to exercise their right to the establishment of a sovereign state of their own in what is now the Israel-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

It is patently obvious that under the present government of Yitzhak Shamir, who rejects out of hand not only any possibility of a dialogue with the PLO but also the emergence of an independent Palestinian state in the vicinity of Israel and holds a tough stand in regard to other aspects of the settlement of the Palestinian issue, any attempts to solve the Palestinian problem only on the basis of the "Baker Plan" or "Shamir Plan," are unrealistic.

An international Middle East conference is the only effective alternative to those plans. Such a conference could become the centre-piece of a mechanism for a comprehensive and just Middle East settlement, due to which the Palestinian people would gain a homeland while the people of Israel, along with Arab peoples, would gain reliable peace and security.

U.S. Official, USSR Academic Discuss Emigration

PM0901153590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Bezruchenko feature incorporating interviews with Max Robinson, U.S. consul general in Moscow, and Professor Igor Blishchenko, Soviet specialist in international law: "Refugees or Fortune Hunters. What Has Caused the Growth of the Number of People Leaving for the United States?"—no place or date of interviews given]

[Text] Max Robinson, U.S. consul general in Moscow, compared today's tense situation around the U.S. Embassy building on Chaykovskiy Street with a movie premiere. "The initial excitement will pass and the lines will disperse," he forecast...

Indeed, this may well happen with the passage of time, but for the time being it is as long as ever—the line of Soviet citizens who have decided to resettle across the ocean. In 1 month alone—October—the U.S. Consulate

in Moscow issued 237,000 application forms to be filled out by applicants wishing to enter the United States.

This huge number is associated with the introduction of new procedures for examining applications by persons wishing to move from the USSR to the United States as of 1 October 1989 (the beginning of fiscal 1990 in the United States). The new rules preclude the possibility of applying for entry to the United States from third countries, as was done earlier by many who had left the USSR on Israeli visas. Henceforth, all applications will be accepted only in Moscow.

Simultaneously with introducing the new rules, the Americans doubled, to 50,000, the quota for refugees from the USSR for the current fiscal year, thus expanding the circle of people wishing to utilize the advantages, mainly financial, which go with this status. Let us remind our readers that, under the U.S. definition, refugees are those who have "fully justified fears of being victims of persecution" for reasons of race, religion, citizenship, political beliefs, and so on.

At IZVESTIYA's request an official U.S. representative and a Soviet specialist in international law comment on the situation.

"Emigration Is Not Necessarily a Bad Thing"

Max Robinson, U.S. consul general in Moscow: Have you ever thought that perhaps the Soviet Union and the East European countries are the only ones to perceive the emigration process as something bad, as a sign of weakness by some country or another? In fact emigration is a worldwide phenomenon. For example, about 20,000 residents of the British Isles move to the United States each year, and we have received 400,000 from Ireland. These countries do not seem to be worried.

Our estimates show that, on average, one in every five former emigrants to the United States returns home eventually. Moreover, they bring back new ideas, experience, knowledge, and energy. Therefore, this process is multifaceted.

[Bezruchenko] And so, migration from one country to another is a natural phenomenon. But British people who move to the United States do not acquire refugee status. What criteria do you apply to define the status of various persons?

[Robinson] We proceed from the universally accepted definition of refugees and on our own refugees act. Immigration Service officials (there are six of them in the Embassy) conduct thorough interviews with each claimant for such status, with a view to determining both the veracity and the validity of claimants' arguments. We do not require any documentary confirmation from them. It can thus be said that the final decision is largely subjective.

[Bezruchenko] Does it not seem to you that, at present, people leaving the Soviet Union have fewer grounds than before for claiming refugee status?

[Robinson] Of course, significant improvements in the human rights sphere in your country have made it more difficult for many people to prove that they have been subjected to persecutions. This is why during the last fiscal year refugee status was granted only to 20 percent of persons claiming it. At the same time, this status may be granted also on the basis of "fears of persecution," and many still have such fears.

[Bezruchenko] Conversations with people outside your Embassy give the impression that "fears of persecution" are more of a pretext for the majority. The real reason for their wish to resettle in the United States is a desire for a better life.

[Robinson] I agree, our own estimates show the same. The majority indeed desire to go to America in search of new opportunities, whether in education, work, or living standards. Some are fed up with disorganization in their motherland. I spoke with one Armenian who complained that he cannot find work in his specialized field—he is a neurosurgeon. So far, this is no more than a claim by him which needs to be verified, especially since we know that you have a shortage of good physicians.

[Bezruchenko] It certainly is up to the U.S. side to decide who should be granted refugee status and who should not. But does it not seem to you that, if the United States receives—as planned—more refugees from the USSR than from anywhere else in the world, this will not be quite fair on people in other countries who are subjected to real persecutions?

[Robinson] Quota determination is a political decision by the U.S. leadership, made on the basis of consultations and consideration for other countries' potential. As for my personal opinion, I am not here for the purpose of expressing it.

"International Norms Are Needed"

Professor Igor Blishchenko: The definition of a "refugee" is unfortunately not universally agreed. There are two relevant conventions, dating back to 1951 and 1969: The first is geared primarily to the situation in Europe at that time, the second to African countries. The term "fully justified fears of being victims of persecution" comes from the first convention, and I personally consider it to be rather vague. Nonetheless, that is the definition accepted by the United States which is a party to the 1951 convention. The Soviet Union, incidentally, is not a party to either.

[Bezruchenko] In your view, how fair are the new U.S. rules for acceptance of refugees from the USSR?

[Blishchenko] In my opinion, the quota system for regulating entry in general is in itself a violation of

human rights. In essence, it questions an individual's right to leave his own country as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration.

[Bezruchenko] Explaining his viewpoint, a representative of the U.S. Consulate gave an example involving two homes: Any person may leave his own home, but it is up to the owner of the other home whether to invite him in.

[Blishchenko] Perfectly true. But in order to observe the interests of everyone, it is necessary to elaborate general norms, a new international convention on entry and exit and migration by people. Especially since emigration in our unequal world damages many countries, including the Soviet Union.

As former U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk once noted, "immigration by specialists, provided it is properly organized, could become one of our nation's most important resources." According to some data, up to half of U.S. requirements for mathematicians, for example, were met through immigration by Soviet citizens. By acquiring skilled specialists, the Western countries develop even more swiftly, opening up the gap separating them from developing countries. This ultimately damages the entire world community.

Of course, there are also unskilled people among those wishing to leave for the United States. Nonetheless, the economic order's advantages allow America to be selective toward potential immigrants. For example, the overwhelming majority of refugees who have illegally entered the United States from Guatemala are being sent back.

[Bezruchenko] What do you think, can many people among those who now wish to leave for the United States justifiably claim refugee status?

[Blishchenko] I think that they are in the minority. The majority are leaving only because they want a better material life. This is perfectly understandable in human terms.

U.S. Embassy Construction Firm Linked to Mafia

LD0901211990 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] New York January 9 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Igor Makurin:

The U.S. State Department paid 10.3 million dollars to the Mafia-controlled Circle Industries building company for finishing work on a new building for the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

According to official documents of the U.S. Government that have come into possession of the VILLAGE VOICE newspaper, the sum paid to the corporation, as early as 1987, was not only for the laying of floors and the construction of staircases and the erection and painting of walls, but also for deliveries of building materials and control over all works.

The construction works were to take place on the building that the Bush administration decided to demolish last December because of widespread bugging of the structure.

Circle Industries is a sister firm of the major building corporation Nastasi White, owned by the twins Franklin and Thomas Nastasi. From 1979, when the FBI uncovered underhand dealings in the carpenters' union, the latter's name has constantly appeared at many Mafia trials connected with bribery, blackmail, trade union racketeering and forgery.

American secret services, representatives of right-wing organisations and conservative congressmen have been the first to raise doubts over security in recent years.

Senator Alfonse D'Amato from New York State was particularly enthusiastic in "protecting national security interests". However, the Nastasi brothers contributed huge sums for the senator's election campaign and Thomas Nastasi is still the major figure in raising funds for D'Amato.

Pentagon Defense Research Agency Role Revived

PM0901151790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p7

[Own correspondent V. Sukhoy dispatch: "Why Should Science Need a Uniform?"]

[Text] New York, 8 Jan—In the sixties and seventies a relatively small subdivision of the Pentagon—the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA)—played an appreciable role in determining the main directions of research and experimental design work in the United States.

Being free of the bureaucratic chains which bound many state organizations hand and foot, this agency could allow itself the luxury of investing capital in the computer industry at its own discretion. Some people even hold that, without money from DARPA, U.S. scientists would hardly have achieved such outstanding successes in information science and other related fields. This led to the creation of the very latest computer systems in the United States.

At the beginning of the eighties, however, the agency was instructed to concern itself strictly with applied science. DARPA scientists were instructed to create robot tanks as part of the so-called "strategic computer program." Since 1983 more than $100 million have been allocated for research under this program, but no substantial results have yet been achieved.

Since the G. Bush administration took up residence in the White House, DARPA appears to have found its feet again. The agency has been given the functions of a scientific establishment which, in addition to military research, conducts and in every way supports research work across a broad range: from the very latest fiber

optics telephone communications systems to high-definition television. In fiscal 1989 DARPA's budget increased by $500 million in comparison to the previous year to reach $1.3 billion.

Many U.S. legislators believe that DARPA should now be concerned not with creating the very latest weapons systems but with conducting fundamental research which could lead to revolutionary discoveries in the field of computer technology. The U.S. Congress has received more than 10 draft laws which envisage turning DARPA into a civilian scientific agency or setting up a research laboratory along similar lines that will be for strictly peaceful purposes.

The calls to revive DARPA's former activity are also dictated by the fact that the United States has now fallen considerably behind Japan and even the FRG in the field of applied modern technology.

Joint U.S.-USSR Efforts in Nature Conservation

LD1001094490 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Washington January 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Styanislav Lunev:

The general improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations, including emerging cooperation in nature conservation, have resulted from democratic transformations in the Soviet Union, speakers at a news conference held here on Tuesday noted.

The news conference was devoted to the completion of joint Soviet-U.S. research under a program to create an international peace park in areas of the Chukcha and Seward, Alaska, which are adjacent to the Bering Strait.

Manuel Lujan, U.S. secretary of the interior, and Valentin Soknlovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, spoke to journalists after signing a statement on the results of the research.

They informed newsmen about the two countries' joint efforts to protect the environment and the importance of setting up an international peace park in the area of the Bering Strait. It will preserve nature and the cultural heritage of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States living in the rigorous conditions of the Arctic.

James Reednor, director of the U.S. National Park Service, talked about the work of Soviet and American scientists and legal matters that arose during the project.

Lujan told TASS that the completion of the preliminary study for building an international peace park on the Bering Strait and the signing of the statement on this issue was an important step in Soviet-American relations. Lujan said that the program expressed the common interests of the United States and the USSR in environmental protection.

He stressed that the two countries have stated that they have a common approach to nature conservation issues.

Petrovskiy Receives U.S. Congressman 9 Jan

LD0901204990 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy met today United States Congressman George Brown. They discussed questions relating to the role of the mass media in the formation of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States.

Canadian Expert Demands End to U.S. Arms Tests

LD1001104590 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Ottawa January 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valentin Vasilets:

A leading Canadian expert on security questions favoured an end to U.S. cruise missiles tests over Canada.

Speaking at a news conference here, Bernard Wood, director of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, said that under current easing of tensions in East-West relations, it would be difficult for the federal government to convince Canadians of the need to continue test flights.

The agreement between Washington and Ottawa that opened the Canadian territory for the Pentagon was concluded in 1983, and its term of operation expires in 1992.

The U.S. Defence Department picked Canada as a testing ground due to the fact that its landscape resembles the terrain of some Soviet areas. The agreement made Ottawa a direct participant in the arms race and provoked protests in the country.

Wood also criticised the Pentagon's position, which seeks to put sea-based cruises outside the framework of Soviet-American negotiations on cutting strategic offensive weapons.

In his opinion, Canada—washed by the two oceans—has an acute and direct interest in making cruise missiles, above all sea-based cruises, a subject of negotiations.

He said that progress in this field was blocked by the dogmatic resistance of the U.S. Navy, which also blocks all other attempts to control sea-based weapons. Wood noted that Canada has no reason to cooperate with the United States in these tests, which are detrimental to its own security.

China

RSFSR Official Extols PRC Border Ties

OW1101053790 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 23 Dec 89

[From the special program "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] We would like to talk about border cooperation, which is one aspect of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. You probably remember that at the summit last May Soviet and Chinese leaders pointed out that long-term border cooperation can set a good example for developing friendly ties between the two countries. Today we will touch on some experiences in this regard.

The following is based on reports by our station reporters:

Vinogradov, foreign minister of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], dwells on the prospects for the development of Soviet-Chinese border ties. Vinogradov said: The Soviet Union, or rather its Far East region, and northeast China are partners which supplement each other and develop their own regions. They have created good conditions for Soviet-Chinese economic ties. We have seen rapid development of these ties. For instance, in 1988 the RSFSR's trade volume with the prefectures in China's contiguous area and the adjacent Heilongjiang exceeded 600 million Swiss francs, while today the trade volume has exceeded 1 billion Swiss francs. This does not mean the limit has been reached, because many cooperation agreements still remain. What is important is that both sides wish to expand and deepen cooperation. [passage omitted]

Before 1987, Kazakhstan's trade volume with China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region had reached 16 million Swiss francs; last year the trade volume exceeded 50 million Swiss francs. In 1989, which is about to end, Kazakhstan saw bright prospects for long-term, mutually beneficial cooperation with China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. Kazakhstan and Xinjiang have signed a 1989-1995 economic, technical, and trade cooperation agreement. This document includes 78 national economic installation projects. The completion of these projects will mean an important contribution to increasing the potentials in these two contiguous areas. For instance, the Chinese side will take part in building plants which assemble and produce Kazakhstan's electronic calculators, recorders, and television sets. The Soviet side will supply Xinjiang with 700,000-kilowatt generators and help build a 4 million-kilowatt thermoelectric power station.

The railway from Urumqi to Alma-Ata is an important project with construction by both sides. The junction station of this railway will be a station of friendship, (Alashan Pass), which will be opened to traffic in 1991. This will be an additional direct railway between Moscow and Beijing running across the Soviet-Chinese border.

In 1989, an air route was opened between Urumqi and Alma-Ata, clear proof that the border ties between Kazakhstan and Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are successfully developing. This year has also seen the exchange of travelers. [passage omitted]

Development of MPR-PRC Relations Hailed

OW1001033090 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Dear listeners: The Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] and China are making efforts to develop friendly relations on the basis of (?peaceful coexistence). This statement was made by MPR Foreign Minister Gombosuren to a TASS reporter. He said that as a result of their efforts, relations between the MPR and China have further developed. Station commentator Alekseyev writes:

The vigorous development of relations between our neighbors, the MPR and China, can only be a joy for us. This is undoubtedly one of the signs of the global trend in current international relations. I am referring to the transition from confrontation to cooperation. This is particularly true in the relations between the MPR and China.

As everyone knows, relations between the two countries were virtually frozen in the mid-1960's. For a long period, the relations had been strained. This could not but affect the situation along the Mongolian-Chinese border. It was only in the eighties that the two countries gradually removed the obstacle of estrangement and mutual distrust. This process is still going on.

I would like to point out the major milestones in this process. In 1988, the two countries signed a treaty in Beijing on the Mongolian-Chinese border and on the procedures for settling border issues. This treaty laid the foundation for the transition from confrontation to cooperation along the border of the two countries. Speaking of the event, RENMIN RIBAO said: The signing of the treaty was an epoch-making event in the accelerated process of normalization of relations between China and Mongolia. In 1989, the foreign ministers of the two countries exchanged visits. The two sides agreed that the exchange of visits symbolized the complete normalization of relations between the two countries and two parties.

On 1 September, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said in Ulaanbaator that China is very satisfied with the restoration of neighborly relations with Mongolia.

We are pleased to see that all-around cooperation between the two countries is developing smoothly, and we are very confident that it has a great future.

Northeast Asia

Japan Seen Uncertain Over E. Europe Ties

PM0901163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[S. Agafonov dispatch under the "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Japanese Periscope. Tokyo's Special View of East Europe"]

[Text] Tokyo—The "fall spring," as the mass media here have dubbed recent events in East Europe, has provoked a broad response in Japan, and the close attention not only of the press but also of scientists, economists, politicians, and representatives of the business world has been riveted on it.

This interest, at first idle and mirroring not so much the events themselves as the reaction to them in West European capitals and across the ocean, has gradually become steadier and even, in a sense, original. Attempts at scientific analysis of the processes currently under way in the socialist community countries, along with forecasting computations on the future of Europe and the world structure as a whole, replaced garish headlines like "The Socialist Domino Theory" or "Collapse of Moscow's Satellite Empire," largely borrowed from the U.S. press.

This global shift in the Japanese version boils down in effect to one fundamental element—proof of the need for a radical revision of the postwar system founded on the Yalta accords and the conclusion that it is time to dismantle the "old legacy" where the the purely practical—geographical—element is repeatedly singled out, not in Europe but in Asia. As the reader has probably already guessed, it is mainly a question of the problem of the "northern territories," the fate of which was determined, among other questions, during the memorable meeting of the anti-Hitler coalition allies at Yalta. I may be mistaken, but I have the impression that the hullabaloo over the situation in East Europe raised in the Japanese press and the publicist activity serves as an eloquent arrangement and framework for this sort of logical construct. How serious is this element, and what does it entail?

Let us begin by saying that the vast region in question has never in itself been a Japanese priority—political, economic, or humanitarian. Japan's ties with East European countries were not stamped with the seal of exclusivity and did not break the mold of "minimum sufficiency"; working diplomatic dialogue produced upsurges of high-level visits extremely infrequently—moreover, these developments brought about no radical advances in relations and mutual trade broke no records. According to recent data, a total of nine joint enterprises (four in Bulgaria and five in Hungary) have been set up in East Europe (excluding the USSR) involving Japanese partners, in comparison with, say, the 53 and 52 enterprises which the FRG and Austria respectively have opened there. Japan's commodity turnover with virtually all the East European countries amounts to the modest sum of $200 million on average for each partner, whereas the comparable U.S indicator totals $0.5 billion, while data for the EEC fluctuate in the $2-12 billion "bracket."

The "East European boom" has emerged on the wave of recent events against this more than quiet backdrop. It has been reflected in official statements at the highest level in support of democratic processes, the spontaneous idea of a visit to this region by the Japanese prime minister, the decision to send a special economic mission to Poland and Hungary this spring to clarify the areas and channels in which these countries are to receive Japanese aid, the recently proclaimed "package" of $150 million in credit to maintain currency stability in Poland, promises to help the food situation and train a large group of trainee managers from these countries, and another series of positions that make up a whole list. On this basis, it is indeed timely to say that East Europe has finally come within the purview of the "Japanese periscope" as a serious target. What is this, a change of priorities?

I do not believe that the time has come yet for this formulation of the question. Above all because Tokyo's current turn toward East Europe has been dictated mainly—and people here make no secret of this—by Japan's "moral obligations" as a member of the "Western club." Let us recall that at a recent meeting of the "Big Seven" in Paris economic aid for Hungary and Poland figured as one of the points in the final declaration, which was also signed by Japan's prime minister.

Another element is purely economic. Despite certain hypothetical articles regarding the future advantages that may be derived from speeding up the development of business ties with East Europe (the so-called "back door" concept, for infiltrating the integrated "Big Europe" via the East European countries) the main tone noted by specialists in Japanese business circles is a hypercautious approach and even a reluctance to get involved in a "zone of high investment risk."

What line will Japan's East European policy take in the future? In my opinion, the Japanese themselves are not prepared to answer this question now since Tokyo does not yet have any clear concept with regard to East Europe. However, one thing is obvious: The broadening of dialogue, the strengthening of ties, and the quest for new spheres of cooperation will be guidelines in the elaboration of Japan's policy—and this can only be welcomed.

According to official data, Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu is to leave on a long visit to Europe next Monday [8 January]. The program for the trip includes visits to Poland and Hungary, and even, people here write, a "conceptual speech" at the Berlin wall. It is typical, however, that the impending "conceptualism"

arouses no delight in the Japanese press; many commentaries voice blunt recriminations regarding the prime minister's foreign tour, directed at the Foreign Ministry and the government for "overlooking" the drastic changes on the European continent and clearly lagging behind "Western club" partners in elaborating an independent policy toward this region that accords with the new conditions.

Japanese Prime Minister's Europe Tour Previewed

PM1001124190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent Igor Latyshev report: "Dual Purpose"]

[Text] Tokyo, 8 Jan—Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan has left for an 11-day diplomatic tour of Europe. His itinerary includes visits to the FRG and West Berlin, France, Britain, Belgium, and Italy, where he will also go to the Vatican, plus Poland and Hungary.

As Tokyo commentators are noting, the Japanese head of government's current European trip is designed to "kill two birds with one stone." Kaifu's first purpose is to deal with domestic policy problems, primarily the general elections due in February. Political practice here showed long ago that for leaders of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party running for leadership of the government, a foreign tour is the best form of publicity. In the case of Kaifu, a politician of whom little is known to date, such publicity is particularly necessary.

The second purpose of the European tour is closely connected with Japanese government circles' desire to activate their foreign policy and thus "raise" Japan's international role "to a level commensurate with its increased economic potential," as journalists here like to say.

Kaifu intends to express Japan's readiness to undertake the further expansion of economic and political contacts with those countries and thereby "strengthen the weak side of the U.S.-Japan-Western Europe triangle," namely, Japan's links with the West European countries.

But perhaps the greatest attention in Tokyo is being paid to Kaifu's visits to West Berlin, Poland, and Hungary. During his stay in West Berlin, the Japanese prime minister is going to make a public speech in which he will set out "Japan's views on the development of international events in the period of the relaxation of tension and the end of the cold war." These views, by all accounts, will include a course aimed at comprehensively expanding Japan's economic ties with the East European countries. This course features the expansion of trade contacts, the creation of a number of joint ventures on their territory involving Japanese capital, and the granting of Japanese credits on preferential terms to certain East European countries. As the KYODO NEWS AGENCY has reported, the possibility that Kaifu will promise Poland and Hungary loans of up to $2 billion has not been ruled out.

Yeltsin To Begin Visit to Japan 14 Jan

OW1101094290 Tokyo KYODO in English 0911 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Tokyo, Jan. 11 KYODO—Boris Yeltsin, the maverick Soviet politician who has sharply criticized the pace of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, will pay a 10-day visit to Japan from Sunday [14 January], organizers of his trip said Thursday.

Yeltsin, invited by the MAINICHI newspapers, Tokyo Broadcasting System Inc. and the Japan Society for Promotion of Japanese Diplomacy, is scheduled to meet leaders of four non-communist opposition parties and business circles.

Talks with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama are also being arranged, the organizers said.

Yeltsin will give lectures on "perestroyka" (restructuring) reforms in his country and Japan-Soviet relations in Sapporo, Osaka and Hiroshima.

Japanese Criticism of Asian Policy Analyzed

LD1001141590 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

There have been stubborn attempts by Japanese officials to separate Asia from the positive changes taking place in the world and to lay the "blame" for this on the Soviet Union.

Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama remarked when visiting the Federal Republic of Germany that the Soviet Union did not yet apply new thinking to its policy in Asia. The Japanese premier even called on the Soviet Union to make greater effort to build more friendly relations with Asian countries.

It is not clear on behalf of what Asian countries the Japanese leaders make such remarks. Pronouncements by the leaders of a number of Asian countries are widely known. They greatly appreciate Soviet foreign policy and the Soviet Union's peace initiatives in the Asia-Pacific region, reflecting new political thinking.

Moreover, some of those countries put forward proposals aimed at strengthening peace and stability in the region, at reducing military confrontation and developing equal and mutually-beneficial cooperation among all countries.

Most probably, Japanese officials' remarks are accounted for by Tokyo's inability to actively join in the positive processes that embrace East-West relations on an increasing scale and Japan's clinging to the old stereotypes that determine the country's course towards giving greater scope to military preparations.

This is illustrated by the record-high military budget endorsed by the Japanese Government at the end of last year, making Japan one of the first in the world by military spending.

Incidentally, Asian countries, to which the Japanese prime minister referred, by no means take on trust his assurances that Japan adheres to a restrained defence policy.

The Singapore STRAITS TIMES newspaper wrote editorially today that those assurances are designed to reassure neighbours that are concerned over its reemergence as a military power and that even friendly neighbours would hardly accept the assurances at face value.

The Japanese leaders' remarks have been regarded with obvious distrust in Japan itself. The Soviet Union, which is regarded by the Japanese Government as a "potential enemy", in actual fact does not pose a threat to the country's national security, stated the Japan Socialist Party (JSP).

At a time when the United States, the Soviet Union and European countries are slashing their defence spending, and only Tokyo augments them, the JSP points out, Japan may turn into a new threat to world security.

Both the JSP and other opposition parties have advanced specific proposals to promote political and military detente in the region.

So Japanese leaders do not need to go far in the search for constructive initiatives that would accord with the spirit of the times and with the sentiments of Asian peoples.

The coming months will be a period of active political contacts between the Soviet Union and Japan. During the developing dialogue the two countries could consider and take mutual steps to contribute to lowering the level of military confrontation, to confidence- building and to promote the disarmament process in the Asia-Pacific region.

E. Europe Events, N. Korean Reaction Discussed

SK1001061690 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 8 Jan 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: We will now summarize what the Soviet publications reported about the DPRK.

PRAVDA correspondents have reported on the new appearance of Pyongyang as follows:

If the (?situation) during the long Japanese militarists' colonial rule is taken into consideration, not only the urban areas but the rural areas have also changed. There used to be expanses of slums on both sides of the Potong River. The areas used to be dominated by joblessness, starvation, and poverty. However, today the areas, as well-organized districts, have turned into tranquil places for the citizens of the DPRK capital and for visitors.

The capital was completely devastated during the Korean war. The U.S. forces bombarded the capital approximately 1,500 times. They thought that even 100 years would not be enough for the rehabilitation of Pyongyang.

However, Pyongyang rose again from the ashes like a phoenix in less than a decade.

Pyongyang is talked about because of its magnificent structures and new housing areas. There are frequent complaints about the lack of standards in construction. The dull architecture consisting of only concrete blocks has become a topic of conversation. Concrete blocks are mainly used in building residential houses in Pyongyang. However, each structure still has its own characteristics and each housing area has its own distinctive construction.

PRAVDA said that the monumental construction and all other things resemble the general appearance of the People's Korea.

An article entitled "Everything Is Stable in Pyongyang" was carried by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

The reporter said that Pyongyang gave an impression until recently that it was far from the path of restructuring taking place in the socialist world.

The reporter went on to add: Life is lived in an orderly fashion there and no one talks about any recent phenomenon of the dramatic events of overthrowing the Stalin-Brezhnev type structure of socialism and about establishing the new society in some countries over the horizon. Mass media also keep strict silence about this.

But the wind of change is still growing stronger and its breath is being felt.

A KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reporter in Korea questioned whether mute observers could remain quiet under such circumstances.

While the (?events) were taking place like a gale in East Europe, Kim Chong-il, the main (?organizer) of the party, appealed to the people not to be deceived by any untrustworthy ideas or concepts but to trust only their party and leader. In an interview with the Cuban paper GRANMA, he declared the invariableness of the political principle of the leadership of the country and dealt a blow at the force attempting to encroach upon it. Through the interview, the paper disclosed the following remarks: The leader is the center of the party and its leadership. In our society, the leader, party, and masses are the only social and political organic body.

In conclusion, cautiously noting the attempt to continue to move forward along the road adopted by the current

leadership of the country and to (?defend) it, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA said there was no doubt about the determination to move forward.

IZVESTIYA carried an article about its delegation's visit to the DPRK under the title "A Brief Report on the Visit to the DPRK." The Soviet reporters were received by Comrade Yang Hyong-sop, chairman of the Standing Committee of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly. He said: We are taking into consideration the experience of the (?communist) and socialist movement. However, we act independently in consideration of our own character. Revolution is carried on generation after generation. Therefore, the leader [suryong] as well must be (?chosen) according to this principle. If the successor to the leader is not fully prepared, this will cause damage. For us, this problem has been solved. I say this because we have the leader [suryong] and the leader [chidoja] who has complete qualifications as a leader [suryong]. I am talking about respected Comrade Kim Chong-il.

The (?reporters visited) the Friendship Museum of the People. Included among what is displayed at the museum were the mementos presented by the state and party activists of many countries.

The correspondents describe the exhibitions in detail. Among the exhibitions, there was a car, a memento presented by Stalin, and there were mementos given by Todor Zhikov, Erich Honecker, Gustav Husak, and others.

Bid To Reduce Scale of 'Team Spirit' Welcomed

SK1001130590 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 8 Jan 89

[Text] According to a report from Seoul, the ROK Government proposed to the United States a reduction of the scale of the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise, which is conducted annually. Station commentator (Lebedev) writes on this as follows:

This proposal to Washington by Seoul is described as a step to relieve the DPRK of its concern. As has been known, Pyongyang is firmly opposed to this military exercise and regards this as (?hampering) the dialogue between the North and the South. It is also evident that the U.S.-South Korean military exercises significantly aggravate tension on the Korean peninsula. It is enough to explain the situation when we say that some 200,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea [as heard] participate in each of the "Team Spirit" military exercises.

Besides, in the course of the military exercises by the U.S. and South Korean armed forces, offensive operations, rather than defensive operations, are drilled, such as the landing and dispatch of the ground combat troops, attack from air on the enemy tanks, and the occupation of the [word indistinct] geographical locations.

In the military exercise, they are completing the steps to convert the 600,000 South Korean troops and the 43,000 U.S. troops in South Korea from the peacetime stance onto a war footing. Pyongyang thinks that the "Team Spirit" military exercises pose a direct threat to the DPRK and that some (?1,000) U.S. nuclear weapons are stored in South Korea.

In an effort to ease military confrontation in Korea and to strengthen security in the region, the leadership of the DPRK called upon the Seoul authorities to stop the "Team Spirit" military exercise on a number of occasions. Since (?1 February 1986), the DPRK has been suspending large-scale military exercises and suspending (?additional) military exercises during talks with South Korea. All this is done to create a situation favorable for the dialogue between the North and the South. Pyongyang is calling upon Seoul to follow this example.

It should be noted that Seoul is beginning to heed the Pyongyang call to a certain degree. The number of the South Korean troops that participated in the last "Team Spirit" military exercise had decreased. It seems that Seoul cannot just ignore the Pyongyang call for dialogue in the atmosphere of positive change in the Asian-Pacific region. The proposal to the United States by the South Korean authorities to reduce the scale of the dangerous demonstration of military strength, according to my view, conforms to the spirit of the times and the interests of the Korean nation. The U.S. response to this proposal will show how much the United States is interested in easing tension on the Korean peninsula.

Korean Students Protest U.S. Ambassador's Visit

SK1001130090 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 9 Jan

[From the "Asian on Focus" program]

[Text] Extremist students demonstrated in front of the residence of the American Cultural Center in Kwangju, South Korea. They [word indistinct] President No Tae-u and Donald Gregg, U.S. ambassador in Seoul. Approximately 500 students chanted anti-U.S. slogans and threw firebombs and stones at the policemen stationed around the residence. The students termed Gregg's current visit as an attempt to escape from the accusations that Washington approved the crackdown on the 1980 Kwangju people's uprising. During last week's testimony at the National Assembly, former South Korean dictator Chon Tu-hwan said that at that time the United States personally approved the crackdown on the riot.

Seoul Trial of Student, Priest Criticized

SK1001022890 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 30 Dec 89

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The Soviet weekly (?NEDELYA) carried a special article under the headline "(?Very Dangerous Hypocrisy)." The special article was about the situation on the Korean peninsula. The magazine said: Rev Mun Ik-hwan and former National Assemblyman So Kyong-won

were respectively sentenced to 10- and 15-year prison terms. The South Korean authorities' charges were that they violated the National Security Law. Under the Security Law, the South Korean people are prohibited to visit the DPRK without approval.

Yim Su-kyong, student of a university in Seoul, and Mun Kyu-hyon, Catholic priest, have been indicted on charges of illegal visits to the DPRK. Yim Su-kyong was the representative of all South Korean students to the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students held in Pyongyang and Mun Kyu-hyon was the one who visited the DPRK to accompany Yim Su-kyong. They decided to return home by crossing the Military Demarcation Line which divides Korea along the 38th parallel.

When they had returned to South Korea, they were immediately arrested. When their trials began three months later, hundreds of college students gathered outside the court and demanded the release of Yim Su-kyong and Mun Kyu-hyon and the abrogation of the National Security Law.

At the trial, the representative of the South Korean youths declared that she visited North Korea to accelerate the reunification of Korea and her visit was not the one sought by Pyongyang, though the South Korean authorities believe so.

Yim Su-kyong and Mun Kyu-hyon may be given as much as 10-year prison terms according to the National Security Law.

The visits to the DPRK by the South Korean student and priest showed that the 38th parallel cannot serve as an obstacle for those patriots who struggle for the reunification of Korea.

At an official level, talks are proceeding with difficultly. The meeting of the Military Armistice Commission has been held in Panmunjom as many as 450 times. Efforts to hold a North-South joint parliamentary meeting and a high-level meeting have produced no results.

On 7 July 1988, South Korean President No Tae-u officially renounced the confrontation policy against the DPRK and declared that national reconciliation and effective North-South cooperation would be sought. However, the behavior of the Seoul (?administration) makes us distrust the truth of the new line. The verdicts against Mun Ik-hwan and So Kyong-won and the trials of Yim Su-kyong and Mun Kyu-hyon are the reason.

Considering the worldwide new political thinking, the trials of patriots in South Korea seem to be a totalitarian phenonmenon.

Though they have been separated into North and South Korea for as many as 45 years, families and relatives are unable to meet one another and to send and receive letters. The division of Korea has divided the people and natural resources of the country.

All Korean people in the North and South are longing for reunification.

An agreement was recently reached during the talks between the premier of the DPRK State Administration Council and the ROK prime minister. This could be an important step toward the goal.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Burmese Military Government's Goals Surveyed

BK1101074090 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Commentary by station observer Aleksandr Vladimirov, entitled: "What Are the Goals of the Military Government in Myanma?"]

[Text] In his message released in connection with the 42d independence day anniversary in Myanma [Burma], General Saw Maung, chairman of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, said the military government is striving to establish political stability in the country. He also emphasized the need for every political party and citizen to help prevent the outbreak of disturbances and insurrection in the period prior to the multiparty general elections.

Our observer remarked that the recent revocation of martial law in 10 divisions [as heard] may reflect the confidence of the Myanma military government in its ability to restore tranquillity and peace in the country. Some observers, however, believe that the move was initiated to pacify the people who were dissatisfied with the election ban and restraints placed upon famous political leaders—Daw Aung Suu Kyi, U Tin U, and U Nu—by the present government.

According to preliminary accounts, 117 political parties will be competing in the elections scheduled for May this year. But the programs of these parties to save the country from its difficulties are not much different. Manifestos issued by the parties prior to the elections only deal with unity, freedom, [words indistinct]. It is indeed rare to find a Burmese political leader elaborating on what a democratic administration should be, or how the State Law and Order Restoration Council should hand over power to the new parliament and the new government.

The Democratic Front for National Construction is indeed a very rare exception. The leaders of that political party declared at a press conference in November last year that the new parliament must immediately become the nation's highest authority once the election results are announced. In addition, they declared that it would be necessary for the new government and the leaders of the Defense Forces to hold talks to decide on the duties and the role of the Defense Forces. The Front also declared its intention to strive for national conciliation, to relinquish orthodox ideas in reviving the national

economy, to hand over farmland to the farmers, and to set up a Chamber of the Nationalities in the new parliament.

We do not know how the present military government would view the the developments in Myanma after the elections. We also cannot say with certainty that the majority of members in the new parliament would be people who press for the immediate dissolution of the State Law and Order Restoration Council and the curbing of the powers of the Defense Forces.

A TASS correspondent's report from Yangon [Rangoon] quoted some observers as saying that as the situation gets under firmer control in the country, the military government appears to be wanting to prolong its grip on the power. This, of course, is only speculation.

So far, in addition to taking the first steps toward opening the door to Western nations, the Gen Saw Maung government can be seen working actively to persuade foreign entrepreneurs into entering business in Myanma.

It is apparent that greater attention has been given to undertaking oil exploration projects. We understand that major Western companies, such as the Shell Oil Company, have oil exploration rights in designated blocks where there may be oil reserves.

Read Admiral Maung Maung Khin, minister for mines and energy, said that there were four aims in permitting Western nations to explore for oil in the country. They are: to improve the socioeconomic conditions in Myanma, to foster local experts in the oil industry, to gain know-how in the latest technology, and to resolve the fuel shortage problem.

The military government has been negotiating trade deals with foreign concerns. Newspapers only report about talks being held on joint venture deals; but according to reports from Yangon, experts believe that contracts are being signed without the Myanma Government investing a single cent in the ventures. In fact, quite to the contrary, the Myanma Government was even paid $5 million by a South Korean company for signing a contract granting a free hand to that company to do its business and market the oil produced in the first 5 years.

Whether such a deal is in harmony with the long-term interests of the country is up to the Myanma people to decide. There is only one thing I would like to point out here. For the military government, there must be more than just the reason of acquiring foreign exchange from foreigners, who are permitted to exploit the natural resources under such favorable terms. Perhaps the economy is being liberalized to appease the West, which is not very pleased with the way the military government is tackling political problems in the country.

Not only is the military government trying to strengthen its economic base by arranging for foreign concerns to work locally, it is also consolidating its political bases internationally. From the looks of it, the government may also be succeeding in that direction.

In this connection, a correspondent cited the following statement by the South Korean ambassador in Yangon: For business circles, wherever it comes from, money is always the same. Entrepreneurs will not be paying much interest to the human rights situation here.

Action Urged on Cambodian Peace Initiative

BK1101033590 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1500 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] In ASEAN countries, prospects for a solution to the Cambodian conflict are being widely discussed. Radio Moscow correspondent for this region (Vladimir Beloshev) reported from Jakarta by telephone as follows:

This discussion is not surprising at all. The Cambodian problem has attracted lively interest here because the 11-year-old protracted conflict has directly affected the political and economic interests of countries in this region.

However, great attention is now centered on the launching of a new initiative at the diplomatic level. Therefore, the following weeks will be crucial in the process of solving the Cambodian problem.

Many experts believe that the Australian initiative, which was voiced by its foreign minister, Gareth Evans, will help cope with the current deadlock. I would like to point out here that Evans' proposal amounts to offering the so-called Namibia model for a political solution to the Cambodian problem. This proposal calls for vacating the Cambodian seat at the United Nations and establishment of a provisional UN administration in Cambodia.

This proposal has been supported in principle by three of the four warring factions in Cambodia. Only the Pol Pot group has opposed it. The Soviet Union, the United States, France, Vietnam, and other Indochinese countries have all welcomed Evans' proposal.

Australian Foreign Ministry spokesman Costello is currently conducting his second tour of Southeast Asian countries so as to [words indistinct].

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who was cochairman of the Paris peace talks on Cambodia, has also expressed his willingness to get involved in this matter.

It is worth noting that the Soviet Union's constructive stand has received a positive response in this region. This can be seen from the wide coverage of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's recent interview with VNA, in which the Soviet foreign minister called for a moratorium on arms shipment to all warring factions in Cambodia.

In short, (Vladimir Beloshev) concluded, there is an interesting, promising package of proposals to solve this

problem. Now is the time for those involved in the Cambodian problem to present their views and show the extent to which they are ready to give reasonable concessions.

Near East & South Asia

Ministry Grants PLO Mission Embassy Status

LD1001151490 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The Soviet Union has given its consent to the reorgansation of the mission of the Palestine Liberation Organisation [PLO] in Moscow as the Embassy of the state of Palestine in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Foreign Ministry reported.

The Soviet Union now plans to appoint its ambassador to the PLO Executive Committee.

Israel's Shamir, Weizman Seen at Odds Over PLO

LD0901184390 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS—By TASS political observer Albert Balebanov:

More and more people in Israel call for an early political settlement of the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict and for talks between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) on the basis of the 'peace for land' principle.

One of those who urge the Shamir government to enter into contact with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat is Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat.

Israeli Minister of Science 'Ezer Weizman went even further: He established contact with the PLO without any preliminary public announcements.

He did this in accordance with his conviction that the time had come for Israel to sit down at the negotiating table with the PLO—the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Weizman, who earlier held the post of defence minister, proceeds from the premise that the use of military force in respect to Palestinians is senseless and that the PLO is a serious negotiating partner.

The minister, who had earlier advocated the idea of a "strong Israel," defied the official ban on establishing contact with the PLO.

Weizman's actions triggered off a political crisis in the country.

Shamir, who intended to sack Weizman, had to postpone his plans under the pressure of the Labour Party which threatened to withdraw from the ruling coalition.

The row showed that Shamir is not ready to make any steps towards a just and peaceful solution of the Palestinian problem.

To prevent Weizman's move becoming an example to be followed, Shamir resorted to the obsolete legislation banning ties with the PLO.

However, the prime minister's efforts proved futile. A public opinion poll in Israel showed that the majority of Israelis favour negotiations with Palestinians and the renunciation of force in solving the Palestinian problem.

Moreover, a group of Israeli farmers have launched a fund-raising campaign to form a "peace caravan" that will set off for Cairo in February to meet 'Arafat. The PLO leader has agreed to the meeting.

The stand of the Israeli prime minister on the Palestinian issue reveals his outright unwillingness to face realities in the region.

He is building more and more walls dividing the two peoples and making every effort to prevent the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under U.N. auspices.

Shamir announced he would not allow a sovereign Palestinian state near Israel.

This policy is increasing Israel's international isolation and putting off indefinitely the Middle East settement, the core of which is the Palestinian problem.

This situation does not meet the interests of either Israel or its Arab neighbours and is aggravating the already explosive state of affairs in the region.

Reportage on Israel's Weizman Visit to USSR

Meets Shevardnadze, Speaks To Press

LD1001151590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1356 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, today received 'Ezer Weizman, Israel's minister of science and development, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences, at Weizman's request.

Their conversation focused on the situation in the Near East and on the state of and prospects for an Arab-Israeli settlement. It was noted that the tension and the stockpiling of modern weaponry in the region run counter to the positive tendencies in the world arena and slow down the restructuring of international relations along the path of guaranteeing lasting security for all states and peoples.

Both sides pointed out the importance of overcoming the barriers of confrontation and distrust in the region, in the interests of achieving a comprehensive settlement of the Near East conflict on the basis of a balance of interests of all those participating in it—both Arabs and Israelis. Satisfaction was expressed over the positive

changes taking place in the Arab world, particularly the constructive and realistic course of the PLO, its recognition of Resolution 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council, and the normalization of Egyptian-Syrian relations.

Eduard Shevardnadze stressed that the problem of Israel's security as a Near Eastern state is indissolubly linked to the security of all of its neighbors, and to a just solution to the key Palestinian problem. The Palestinian people must be guaranteed the right to self-determination to the same extent as the people of Israel.

Setting forth the USSR's position in favor of diversified approaches to establishing the settlement process, the Soviet minister noted that all the practical steps being undertaken in this context, including a dialogue between the interested sides, must be oriented toward preparing for and convening an international conference as the main way to achieve genuine and lasting peace in the Near East. Naturally the participation of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, is necessary at every stage of the peace process. Recognition of the important role and place of this organization in a Near East settlement was behind the Soviet Union's decision to turn the PLO mission in Moscow into the embassy of the state of Palestine.

Serious concern was also expressed on the Soviet side concerning the continuing Israeli occupation of Arab lands, the unceasing repressions against the Palestinian civilian population, and mass violations of human rights. Such a policy is not in the interests of Israel and of peace in the region.

E. Weizman received the thoughts of the Soviet side with understanding. He told of approaches in Israel to a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and spoke in favor of its solution by political means at the negotiating table. In his view, Israel's recognition of the PLO and the beginning of a dialogue between them based on equal rights could secure a real improvement in the matter of a settlement, and would set it on a practical path.

The Israeli minister noted in particular the need for the Soviet Union's active participation in all peace efforts in the Near East. He stressed that an improvement in Soviet-Israeli relations would enable the USSR to more fully invigorate its potential in the interests of achieving peace between the Arabs and Israel.

The Soviet side expressed readiness to hold talks on regulating the status of the consular groups of both countries. As for bilateral trade and economic, scientific, and technical links, it would be expedient to implement them through the channels of the chambers of trade and industry of the USSR and Israel, which have the necessary resources and possibilities at their disposal.

Both sides spoke in favor of continuing political contacts between the two countries, primarily on matters relating to a Near Eastern settlement.

Shevardnadze Promises Consular Status

TA1001115390 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Science Minister 'Ezer Weizman had a 2-hour meeting in Moscow this morning with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. At the meeting, Shevardnadze said: The Soviet Union intends to raise its representation in Israel to consular level, granting it official diplomatic status.

AFP Reports on Talks

AU1001132790 Paris AFP in English 1259 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Moscow, Jan 10 (AFP)—Israeli Science and Research Minister 'Ezer Weizman held two hours of talks here Wednesday with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, in an unprecedented diplomatic development in relations between the two countries, well-informed sources said here.

The talks, held at the Foreign Ministry, constitute "an extraordinary gesture of goodwill" by the Soviet Government towards Mr. Weizman, who is here on an unofficial visit, Israeli sources added.

Relations between the two countries are developing, Mr. Weizman reportedly said following his talks.

Israel and the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations following the 1967 Middle East war.

Since then only the Israeli Agriculture Minister, Abraham Katz-Oz, has been allowed to make a low-level unofficial visit here last November.

Observers here said Mr. Shevardnadze's offer of a meeting with Mr. Weizman was almost certainly linked to a recent row over allegations that the Israeli minister had had contacts with the banned Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). [passage omitted]

Weizman Interviewed on Visit

LD1001225490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] [Anouncer] 'Ezer Weizman, Israeli minister of science and development, is in our country at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Today, at his request, he was received by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. After the meeting, the Israeli minister made a statement to Vadim Kukushkin, our correspondent:

[Begin Weizman recording in English with Russian translation superimposed] Today I met with Comrade Shevardnadze. In the space of 2 hours, we discussed the issue of a settlement in the Near East, and the expansion of contacts between the USSR and Israel at both the diplomatic level and in the sphere of science. I was invited here by the Academy of Sciences; and so, up to now, we have tried to arrange contacts with the scientists

of your country and to transfer them onto an official level. Comrade Shevardnadze and I devoted very great significance to the matter of increasing the status of the Israeli mission in Moscow. The Soviet minister promised to resolve this issue in the near future. As I understand it, this is one of the key issues pertaining to a Near East settlement, because, without having contacts at a high level, we cannot know the viewpoint of each other. And I hope that, in the near future, we at last will have normal diplomatic relations.

[Kukushkin] I want to add for my own part that the last visit to our country by an official Israeli representative was almost 25 years ago. If one speaks about 'Ezer Weizman, one has to mention that his family lived in Russia. His father came from Pinsk, and his mother's relatives originated from Riga and Poltava. Weizman actively participated in the Great Patriotic War, and took part in combat operations against the hitlerite troops in North Africa, India, and in the Near East. He was among those who founded the State of Israel. He has had a brilliant career, working up from a mere pilot of minister of defense of the country. In the eighties Weizman resigned and joined the Labor Party of Israel. From being a so-called hawk, he transformed into an advocate of a peaceful course by Israel, since, in his opinion, the world tendency is leaning more and more in favor of talks. And those who resist the natural development of public life are effectively doomed to failure. This probably explains his recent contacts with the PLO for a peaceful settlement in the Near East which today so irritate official Tel Aviv.

Weizman on Rift, Moscow Visit

PM0901144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with 'Ezer Weizman, Israeli minister of science and technology, by B. Ivanov in Moscow; no date given: "'Ezer Weizman: Time Is Against Us"]

[Text] It so happened that our meeting took place just 1 week after a sensational political scandal in which my interlocutor was one of the protagonists. Therefore the first question was automatic.

[Ivanov] Were you surprised by the accusation leveled against you by the prime minister?

[Weizman] Yes, I was totally surprised by his statement.

[Ivanov] His accusations boil down to the claim that, in defiance of the official ban, you maintained contacts with PLO representatives. Did you really maintain such contacts?

[Weizman] Yes, I spoke with several PLO representatives and I do not think that I committed some terrible act. On the contrary, I am convinced that my steps will ultimately prove to be a blessing for my country.

[Ivanov] Now that the prime minister has been forced to give up his intention to fire you from the government, do you feel that you are the victor in this conflict?

[Weizman] I do not think that one can talk of victors and vanquished in such a situation. I remain a government minister although, true, I have had to leave the so-called "inner cabinet" (consisting of 12 key ministers participating in the elaboration of the political course). But I am not repentant about what happened; I believe my actions to have been correct. [Weizman ends]

I was sitting face to face with an elderly man. An aquiline nose, graying hair. Tired but attentive eyes. This was 'Ezer Weizman, Israel's minister of science and technology. He is in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is his first visit to our country. As a matter of fact, his visit in his capacity as an official Israeli functionary at such a level is also the first in the 23 years since the rupture of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Tel Aviv.

The new year began with some quite tumultuous events for Weizman. Israel's Prime Minister Shamir suddenly publicly accused him of maintaining contacts with PLO representatives and demanded his resignation. According to legislation now in force in Israel, such contacts are tantamount to a crime and are punishable with imprisonment and a monetary fine. The Labor Party leadership declared that if Weizman were forced out, the party would withdraw from the government coalition and would thus throw the country into yet another political crisis. Shamir retreated after this statement. Nevertheless, according to my interlocutor, it cannot be ruled out that this was only a tactical move.

[Ivanov] Some Western reporters write that Shamir's attack on you was directly associated with the current trip to the Soviet Union and that your political opponents supposedly wanted to "dilute" your reputation and diminish the visit's importance....

[Weizman] I do not think so. True, much is being said now on the subject, but I believe the reason lies elsewhere, it is associated rather with the domestic political struggle in Israel. I have no desire to analyze the prevailing situation in detail now, let me only add that the crisis is not yet over.

[Ivanov] Do you think that there might be a sequel?

[Weizman] At least I cannot rule this out. In essence, I was presented with a condition: If you continue to insist on your own opinion, get out of the government. I am a professional soldier, and now I feel that I am once more in battle. I was the target of a heavy artillery salvo. When the smoke disperses, it will be possible to assess the real damage. It is still too early to do this now, not enough time has passed. [Weizman ends]

Weizman was 65 years old last year. His life, like his country's history, is a mixture of war and peace. He fought in all the wars that have been Israel's lot. His was

a brilliant military career: Beginning as an ordinary airman, he rose to full general, and in his last years of service held the top position of the country's defense minister. He is considered a people's hero in Israel and is known as the "founding father" of the country's Air Force. Weizman has always advocated a "strong" Israel and the strengthening of the Jewish state's military might. Our press used no terms but "hawk" and "ultra-rightwinger" to describe him. But his political views suddenly changed. More and more he speaks of the need for talks with the Arabs and says that reliance on military strength is senseless. Back in 1980 Weizman resigned as defense minister out of disagreement with the policy of M. Begin, head of the government at the time, whose aim was to create new Israeli settlements along the West Bank of the Jordan River. Later on, in the mid-eighties, he joined Israel's Labor Party. Today he is perhaps one of the country's best known politicians.

[Weizman] I cannot deny that I was a "hawk." But life does not stand still, and therefore people—and politicians especially—must change. My views have been transformed, even though I must admit this was not easy. I am, after all, a soldier and have educated quite a few airmen and taught them that it is necessary to fight rather than sit around the negotiating table.

The decisive moment when I realized that more can be achieved by peaceful means than with bombs and tanks was A. al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977. After this, and for several months thereafter, I was one of the main participants in the elaboration of peace treaties with the Egyptians right up to their final formulation in Camp David. That was 11 years ago. Now, whenever I look back on events at that time, I think to myself: Thank God there was sufficient strength and common sense at the time to conclude peace. After all, that was the first peaceful breakthrough after long years of war and uncertainty. It changed the entire situation so sharply. Thanks to that, I now have many friends among the Egyptians. I can travel to Cairo any time, as if the past years of mutual hostility had never existed. Our present relations with Egypt—to use the current political vocabulary—represent a genuine perestroyka.

I generally assume that today's world trend runs increasingly toward talks. Anyone who fails to realize this is doomed to remain in isolation. It is impossible to resist society's natural development and stick to old dogmas. Any such attempts are doomed to collapse.

[Ivanov] What, in your view, must be done to get the process of a peace settlement in the Near East out of the impasse?

[Weizman] I hope that the changing political situation in the world will force the present Israeli leadership to finally realize the main point: Time is now against us. The sooner this truth is realized, the more quickly the need for talks will prove to be axiomatic. At the same time, we must find in the Arab world representatives who enjoy prestige and trust among Arabs, who have a sense of responsibility, and with whom serious, business-like talks can really be conducted. I personally believe that such a partner is already in existence. It is the PLO. It is possible and necessary to do business with it.

[Ivanov] What do you expect from your visit to Moscow?

[Weizman] Allow me to reply in somewhat greater detail. The point is that the Soviet Union has always held an exceptional place in our awareness. Please understand me correctly: People of my generation were raised on Russian traditions and culture. My father was born in Pinsk, my mother's parents came from Riga and Poltava. Each of my contemporaries has at least one drop of Russian blood. You have done a lot for us. The USSR was present at Israel's birth. There were ups and downs in our relations, followed by a break. It seems to me, though, that now there is a kind of revival of ties with your country, partly thanks to emigration from the Soviet Union.

As far as my visit is concerned, its purpose is to establish normal working relations with the Academy of Sciences and other scientific organizations. Individual contacts between scientists from our countries also existed in the past, but now we intend to advance them to official level. I think that our talks are just the beginning of the process of expanding cooperation in different spheres. To ensure that this process develops swiftly and advances, it is necessary to do something that has been pressing for a long time and, in my view, has become a vital necessity: It is necessary to at long last restore normal diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel. I am convinced that this would be a correct step and in the interests of both countries.

Weizman Deplores PLO Embassy Upgrade

TA1101060590 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Minister 'Ezer Weizman has said the Soviets made a grave mistake when they decided to upgrade the level of the PLO representation in Moscow. In an interview with Meron Tzur, our correspondent in Moscow, Minister Weizman said that Shevardnadze did not tell him during their meeting about upgrading the PLO representation. Weizman said the PLO embassy in the USSR was only mentioned in passing. The minister said the Soviet decision is not new, but was suddenly made public in order to forestall an angry reaction from the Arab countries to the warming up of relations with Israel.

Our correspondent reports that Minister Weizman last night hosted a reception in Moscow which was attended by the entire Presidium of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and members of the Supreme Soviet.

The visit will end today with the signing of an accord on the exchange of know-how between the two countries.

Shevardnadze Talks With Iran's Va'ezi Described

NC1001072790 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Our deputy foreign minister for European and American affairs, who is visiting the USSR at the head of a political delegation, met Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow yesterday.

The Central News Unit reports that Mr Va'ezi delivered a verbal message from our foreign minister, Mr Velayati, to Eduard Shevardnadze and discussed international issues with him.

During the meeting, the two sides expressed satisfaction at the continuing expansion of relations between the two countries in all fields.

The Soviet foreign minister said that 1989 was an extremely important year for Iranian-Soviet relations in particular and for the world in general, adding that it was actually a turning point in relations between the two countries. The most important development that determined the basic nature of the two countries' relations was Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to Moscow.

The latest developments in the Iran-Iraq talks were also discussed during the meeting. Mr Va'ezi pointed to Iran's recent initiative for the simultaneous withdrawal of forces and the exchange of prisoners of war and emphasized that the Iraqi side is trying to delay the implementation of Resolution 598 by raising side issues.

The two sides discussed ways to give impetus to the Iran-Iraq talks as well as the latest developments in the Afghanistan problem. It was stressed that progress in the Afghanistan problem should be in accordance with the will of the Afghan people.

Mr Eduard Shevardnadze also dwelt on the latest events in Soviet Azerbaijan. Our deputy foreign minister stated the Islamic Republic's readiness to faciliate greater contact between the people and to establish commercial and cultural relations, as well as to increase the necessary facilities for travel by the people of the two countries. He added: The presence of the Islamic Republic's consular delegation in Baku, the center of Soviet Azerbaijan, and the meetings held there demonstrate the practical readiness of the Iranian side to facilitate such communication.

The two sides also agreed to continue consultations on all topics under discussion.

Iranian Ministry Official Visits Azerbaijan

LD0901222190 Moscow TASS in English 2034 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Baku January 9 AZERINFORM-TASS—Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Guseinag Sadykhov today received an Iranian delegation led by Tale Manuchehr Massule [name as received], head of the Iranian Foreign Ministry's Visa and Passport Department.

The sides came to the unanimous opinion on the need for concrete measures to promote the implementation of the Soviet-Iranian accords reached during the official visit of Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to the Soviet Union in summer 1989.

A constructive exchange of opinions was held on the need to simplify the procedure for communication between Soviet [words indistinct].

The two sides expressed the mutual desire to envigorate economic, cultural and scientific and humanitarian relations between Soviet Azerbaijan and Iran.

Tale Manuchehr Massule and director of Azerbaijan's main [words indistinct] department Siyavush Yeganly had [words indistinct] on the same day.

The two sides reached agreement to have a direct exchange of tourist groups between Azerbaijan and Iran, to involve a total of 150 people from either side, in April 1990; travels in both countries are planned to last 10 days.

Iraqis in Iran Continue Anti-Saddam Husayn Activities

NC0601100890 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Some time ago, Iranian newspapers published a statement approved by participants in a gathering of Muslim Iraqi combatants in Tehran. This meeting had been arranged under the auspices of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq [SAIRI]. We asked our commentator Yuriy Andreyev to give us a detailed account of the event [recording in Russian heard in background]:

Some days ago, a special statement by Muslim Iraqi combatants on the political situation in Iraq was published in KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL. In the statement, the combatants called for the continuation of the holy war and the preservation of the Islamic nature of the Islamic movement in Iraq.

The publication of this statement was quite unexpected, as there had been no reports recently of any activities on the part of this organization. Some experts had even speculated that following the cease-fire between Iran and Iraq its activities might have ceased.

We may recall that the organization of Iraqi Muslim combatants was established in the midst of military operations between Iran and Iraq. It mainly comprised Iraqi Shi'ites and was expected to act as Tehran's fifth column in Iraq. The organization's (?objective) was to propagate the Islamic revolution's mode of thought and encourage holy war against Baghdad.

Let us see what the results of the activities of this organization were. In my view, the outcome of its activities are not very important as it does not have an extensive base in Iraq and cannot evolve as an actual military or political force. Members of this organization

generally became known as a result of a series of terrorist actions. In addition, the organization of the Iraqi Muslim combatants was involved in extensive propaganda, especially on the formation of the Badr-9 Corps. Most reports referred to the organization's activists and representatives in the camps for Iraqi prisoners of war on Iranian soil, where they were lobbying for supporters. Meanwhile, no news had been disseminated lately regarding the organization's activities. What do you think was the reason for the recent publication of this statement? Andreyev says: The publication of this statement is linked to the continuing crisis in Iran-Iraq relations. As we know, the peace talks between the two sides have reached an impasse. Tehran and Baghdad are not prepared to exercise restraint toward one another. The two countries are using various ways and means for exerting pressure on one another. Iran presumably wishes to remind Saddam Husayn that it possesses resources other than purely political ones. It is no coincidence that, in the above statement, the need to boost the strength of the groupings which have declared holy war against Iraq was specifically mentioned.

In any case, it is highly unlikely, in my opinion, that by resorting to reciprocal threats any positive results will be achieved. What is required and is, in fact, imperative are serious talks and not pompous propagandistic gatherings with unpredictable results.

Egypt Granted Assistance for Phosphate Plant

LD0601142290 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet Union is to give Egypt technical assistance in building an industrial complex for extracting phosphates in the south of the country. This is envisaged by the contract signed in Cairo to a sum of nearly 200 million Egyptian pounds. The complex is not only to meet the country's internal demand but also export the mineral to an annual sum of 50 or 60 million dollars.

A spokesman for the Egyptian Ministry of Industry Ahmad Nohal has noted his country's longstanding cooperation with the Soviet Union in industrial construction.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angolan, Cuban, Soviet Chiefs of Staff Meet

LD1001175590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—Working meetings of the chiefs of general staff of the Armed Forces of Angola, Cuba, and the Soviet Union, which discussed the issues of progress and conclusion of the implementation of the New York agreements (1988) on the withdrawal from Angola of the Cuban military contingent that is temporarily deployed in Angola, were held in Moscow today.

After the meetings were concluded, Antonio dos Santos Franca, chief of general staff of the Armed Forces (FAPLA) [Peoples Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], and Ulises Rosales del Toro, chief of general staff of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba, were received by Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

The meetings and conversations were held in a business-like and friendly atmosphere.

Reasons for Botha's Hungarian Visit Noted

PM1001095190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov dispatch: "Unexpected Guest From Pretoria"]

[Text] Budapest—An official announcement has stated that a brief visit to Hungary by R. Botha, foreign minister of the Republic of South Africa [RSA], and his meeting with his Hungarian colleague G. Horn took place on the South African side's initiative.

The unusual and, in the admission of the Hungarian press, the somewhat unexpected nature of this visit can be explained quite simply: Diplomatic relations do not exist between Hungary and the RSA, and until very recently no high-ranking figure from the RSA had ever visited the countries of East Europe belonging to the Warsaw Pact.

In order to sweep aside all kinds of speculations and fabrications, the sides declared even before the start of the talks that R. Botha's visit was not intended to prepare for establishing diplomatic relations but was, rather, of an informative nature. The Hungarian side linked the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations with the elimination of the apartheid system in the RSA.

In the main the talks between the two countries' ministers touched on questions associated with the changing situation in East Europe and the situation in Southern Africa, where there have also been substantial changes in recent months—above all, the granting of independence to Namibia.

Humanitarian as well as economic problems were touched on in the talks, and the possibilities of facilitating trips to Hungary for citizens of Hungarian nationality living in the RSA were discussed above all. It was declared at R. Botha's news conference that the RSA is prepared to continue accepting immigrants from East Europe, including Hungary, who wish to live and work in that country.

Answering journalists' questions, R. Botha also said that the RSA Government had made contact with all political parties to involve them in equitable participation in drawing up the RSA's new constitution. Certain shifts have also occurred, according to R. Botha, regarding

Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, with whom the country's president recently met and talked.

As for economic problems, during the ministers' meeting considerable interest was shown on both sides in arranging mutually advantageous trade.

ANC Struggle Reviewed on 78th Anniversary

MB0901154090 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Mikhail Tsirilov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] It is 78 years today since the foundation of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa.

The colonial scenes of television documentaries show a manifestation of young Africans dressed in yellow, green, and black t-shirts, the colors of the ANC flag; tense faces; and the slogans flying high above the crowd, among them gathered there: All power to the people.

This is the present-day South Africa, and the present day of the ANC.

The ANC is one of the most influential and authoritative political forces of the country, in spite of the long years of underground work; in spite of the fact that today, too, the congress is an outlaw in South Africa; in spite of the fact that Nelson Mandela, the organization's leader, is still languishing in prison; in spite, or perhaps because, of these factors.

The ANC's authority is not just a notion in the lexicon of politicians. This is a reality, a proud and a tragic one, which had come into being through the long years of staunch struggle and persistent and unceasing work performed in the South African settlements and townships. It is a reality which has come to be possible because of thousands upon thousands of victims.

The ANC is a nonracial organization. There are Africans, representatives of Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu tribes; the colored; people of Indian origin; and the whites, in its ranks. Every member of the ANC had his or her own, and sometimes not an easy, way to that organization. Those people had to combat certain notions and prejudices of their social environment.

What did Nelson Mandela's son, for example, have in common with Timothy Jenkins, who comes from a wealthy white family and who had become a member of the ANC and who later wrote strikingly sincere and dramatic reminiscences of his escape from a Pretoria prison?

I believe that what was common to all those people and what united them and thousands of other ANC members was their striving for freedom and the impossibility to live in the stifling atmosphere of the apartheid state. This same striving was inherent in the person whom I was happy to be acquainted with and who came to be my friend. Unfortunately, our friendship did not last long.

(Thami Phahlela) was a young man who studied at the Friendship University, in Moscow, at the medical faculty. Probably our Zulu listeners remember his voice. (Thami Phahlela) used to come to us here, at Radio Moscow, and prepare and read broadcasts in Zulu. Tapes with his recorded voice are still in the archives of our library of recordings, but (Thami) himself is no more. He was killed in Angola in an ambush set by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola].

The Russian writer (Todor Vaselevsk) had once said that beauty will save the world. (Thami Phahlela) intended to treat people, after he received the doctor's diploma, with music. He dreamed to dedicate himself to musical therapy, but fate decided quite a different way. He became an ANC fighter; he became a fighter because his homeland, South Africa, stood in need of him, its son and its defender, and he rose up to defend it.

Freedom has not come yet to the land of South Africa. The struggle is continuing, though its forms and methods are changing. There are more possibilities now to solve the country's problems by peaceful means. The ANC of South Africa has come out for such solutions.

Possibilities for Mozambican Talks Studied

MB0801192990 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Yelena Olgina commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] Mozambican Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi recently announced that Mozambique's leadership is ready for talks with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

The mediators in the talks, Presidents arap Moi and Robert Mugabe, believe prospects for such talks are good.

The new year has opened with promise. It has been hoped for a long time that [words indistinct] in talks between Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] and Renamo, but a great deal of time has passed without such talks.

Will such hopes for talks materialize [words indistinct] between the two sides, one of them a delegation from the Catholic Church in Mozambique. However, this did not bear fruit with President Joaquim Chissano.

Renamo employs intelligence services of [words indistinct] people of Mozambique. Renamo says Frelimo must relinquish its grip on power and change that country's government.

Alfonso Dhlakama is clearly being unreasonable. He has forgotten that, if Renamo should sit down for talks with

government representatives, it will be merely one group among several, since there are others opposed to the Mozambican Government.

How can the government confer with hooligans on the future of the country? Rebels like these had two opportunities to surrender to the government under the government's amnesty and policy of reconciliation. Frelimo has been ruling the country now for about 15 years, since independence.

President Chissano's New Year's message states there would not be any discussion about Frelimo (?relinquishing) power, but Mocumbi's announcement indicates that Frelimo is endeavoring to stem the carnage from the civil war in the country.

Where such talks will lead is a matter of conjecture. Is it really possible that Renamo, or shall we say certain leaders of this organization, can have a hand in the running of the country's government? It is doubtful that they would be up to such a task. In the eyes of many Mozambicans, Renamo is just a pack of hooligans who go about killing people. The name Alfonso Dhlakama is synonymous with the darkest hours in Mozambique's history.

What is the price for peace in Mozambique? Pascoal Mocumbi says that it is better to wait for talks before this is answered. That there is an agreement at all to open talks is due to Robert Mugabe and Daniel arap Moi. However, as shown in the publication NEW AFRICAN, the Zimbabwean president was found to be the most popular in 1989. He has built himself a name as an astute and honorable statesman and knows the danger of [word indistinct] in entertaining rebellion.

East Europe

Romanian Leaders Thank USSR for Congratulations

Premier Roman

PM1101102190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Message from Romanian Premier Petre Roman to USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To the USSR Council of Ministers:

I sincerely thank you for the congratulations and wishes for successes addressed to me on my appointment to the post of Romanian prime minister.

I am sure that relations between Romania and the Soviet Union will be fruitfully developed in all fields in the interests of the consolidation of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian and Soviet peoples and profound democratic transformations in both countries.

[Signed] Petre Roman, Romanian Prime Minister.

National Salvation Front's Iliescu

PM1101100190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[Message of thanks from Ion Iliescu to Gorbachev]

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

I send you sincere thanks for the congratulations on my election to the post of chairman of the Romanian National Salvation Front Council and for your support for the resurrection of the Romanian nation.

In hard trials throughout their long and anguished history and by their exploits of recent days the Romanian people have proved their unshakable will to struggle resolutely for freedom, democracy, and national dignity, putting an end forever to totalitarianism, oppression, and the policy of diktat.

I am sure that relations of all-around cooperation will develop widely between Romania and the USSR and between the Romanian and Soviet peoples, closely linked by firm ties of friendship and good-neighborliness, in the interests of the profound democratic transformations taking place in both countries and of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

[signed] Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Romanian National Salvation Front Council.

Romania's Iliescu Warns of Economic Problems

PM1001110190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Speech by Head of National Salvation Front"]

[Text] Bucharest, 8 Jan—Economic problems will be particularly vital and complex for Romania in the coming period. I. Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, stated this in a speech on Free Romanian Television summing up some results of the period since the revolution's victory. Straightaway in the first few days the NSF Council and the government took a number of measures to improve supplies of food, energy, and fuel to the population to support the development of industry and agriculture. However, the legacy of the Ceausescu regime creates great difficulties and preconditions for instability over a prolonged period. These problems cannot be resolved at a stroke, he said.

Any actions impeding the normal course of production will affect the already complex economic situation and ultimately our living standards. There are no other possibilities of covering the wage fund apart from those resulting from economic activity. Therefore all sociopolitical events must be held outside working hours.

NSF councils at enterprises must not interfere in day-to-day questions of administrative management, I. Iliescu noted. In cases where labor collectives are unhappy with the competence and moral character of individual leaders, the NSF councils can appeal to higher bodies in order together to ensure their replacement. The NSF councils must take an active interest in how leading cadres and the administrative apparatus perform their duties, but they must do this not by command methods, but constructively, promoting t. : resolution of the problems that arise.

Over 500 Bucharest families were made homeless as a result of the December street battles between fighters from Ceausescu's personal bodyguard and the insurgents. Hundreds of inhabitants of Timisoara, Brasov, and Sibiu found themselves in the same position.

A government decision granting the victims the right to receive interest-free loans from the Romanian Savings Bank has been adopted. A citizen who has lost property can withdraw up to 30,000 lei from a special account, and larger families can withdraw an extra 10,000 lei for each member. Service points for the victims offering furniture, refrigerators, and television sets have been opened in city stores.

Newspaper Profiles New Romanian Leaders

PM0901115790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 90 p 3

[TASS correspondents D. Dyakov and N. Morozov dispatch for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "Romania. New Leaders. Who Are They?"]

[Text] Bucharest—None of the people who have occupied the highest state posts in the new Romania expected or were prepared for such a rapid development of events or made any far-reaching plans. The opposition united Communists, nonparty people, Christians, and atheists against the Ceausescu regime and the repression to which they were subjected. When the abscess of the dictatorship that had festered for almost 25 years erupted, an uncontrollable wave of popular protest swept them all away on the tide of political events.

The Romanian revolution was a spontaneous action by the broad masses. The National Salvation Front was not the organizer but, on the contrary, the fruit of this popular movement. These are the words of one of the people who was at the forefront of the revolution from the very outset—Ion Iliescu. It was he who appeared on "Free Romanian Television"—first as representative and then as chairman of the National Salvation Front Council. His charming appearance, virtually constant smile, fluent knowledge of several languages, and ability to speak with ease on the most varied topics rapidly transformed him into one of the most popular individuals in society. Who is this undisputed leader of the new Romania today?

Ion Iliescu got off to a good start with a career in politics—the son of a Communist and underground fighter, he graduated from the Moscow Power Engineering Institute and some time later became a leader of the Communist Youth League. However, when later he held the post of Romanian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, he made no attempt to bow to instructions from the dictator's family and dared to express an independent opinion on the most diverse problems. His refusal to carry out a "mini-Cultural Revolution" in Romania on the Chinese model, however, incurred immediate punishment—he lost his Central Committee post. Following this he spent several years "out in the sticks"—in leading party work in Iasi and Timisoara, where throughout this time people did not cease to remember him kindly; he was then removed from the party apparatus and transferred to economic work—to the Water Resources Council. However, there he opposed the policy of "assimilating the natural resources of the Danube delta," which resulted in destruction of the natural environment in this region. The last stage before the revolution in the career of the man who stubbornly kept his opinion and refused to exchange his freedom for the comforts of the elite was the post of director of a scientific and technical publishing house.

When the collapse of the Ceausescu dictatorship was announced 22 December from the studio of Free Romanian Television, it was here that the true headquarters of the revolution was formed. As soon as we arrived at the studio we saw high-ranking military chiefs, members of the church hierarchy, and cultural figures in the corridors and in front of overworked cameras. Amid the hubbub one of us encountered Sergiu Celac, who, like many people here, was carrying out the "rough" organizational work of the revolution. Who could have imagined that 2 days later this man would hold the post of foreign minister and would issue E.A. Shevardnadze with an invitation to visit Romania? Nonetheless this appointment is correct: Celac, who received a philological education in Bucharest, has a brilliant knowledge of several languages and has spent many years around the foreign policy department and, in his close proximity to the dictator, was able to see the damage inflicted on the state by the latter's "international activity." However, Ceausescu could not bear to have among the Foreign Ministry's staffers a man who maintained close links with opposition circles, and at the first convenient opportunity he removed him—over the last few years Celac has earned a crust by translating Russian. Some 2 months before the revolution V. Shukshin's novel "Lyubaviny," translated by the future foreign minister, appeared in bookstores.

People whose homes were until a few weeks ago guarded by security service agents, who accompanied them everywhere and prevented them contacting like-minded confederates, are of particular interest to the numerous journalists who have inundated Romania. These men include Dumitru Mazilu, former UN expert and a

trained jurist, who is now first deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front Council. For the ruling clan his main "crime" was that he submitted a truthful report to this international organization on the human rights situation in Romania.

Another prominent Romanian politician—Silviu Brucan—who held the posts of chief editor of SCINTEIA and Romanian ambassador to the United States, was "under surveillance" by Ceausescu's secret police for several years. He was one of the initiators and authors of the well-known "letter of the six" published last spring, which evoked a broad international response.

The Poet Mircea Dinescu is the new chairman of the Romanian Writers' Union. Lacking political clout, but physically unable to stomach lies, and realizing that his words could not reach people under the regime, he resolved to take a desperate step and tell the world the truth about Ceausescu's ruthless regime from the heart of Romania. Hence the now celebrated interview with France's LIBERATION, in which the young Romanian poet spoke with the full force of his talent of the incompetence of the Ceausescus and their lackeys.

...The Romanian revolution, which is 2 weeks old now, brought new people into the leadership—people who have energetically embarked on building a new Romania. The first results of their activity indicate that, despite the numerous problems of the initial revolutionary period, they are fully determined to secure their main aim and ease the fate of people oppressed by despotism and create a free, democratic, and prosperous country.

Ceausescu Palace Shows 'Gulf' in Living Standards

PM0901134790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik report: "Behind the Marble Facade"]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jan—With each day that passes the Romanian people learn more about the crimes committed by the Ceausescu clan and its minions. The free Romanian television, radio, and newspapers are giving detailed accounts and citing more and more facts about the senseless squandering of the people's money by the dictator's large family.

On 5 January, Romanian and foreign journalists visited the Avenue of the Victory of Socialism, contemptuously nicknamed "Ceausescu village" by the people. This is one of the most beautiful locations in the center of old Bucharest. Fifteen-story residential buildings tower along the pedestrian avenue adorned with fantastic fountains and intricate street-lamps. Most of the buildings are ready and even furnished. But up to yesterday there wasn't a single person living there—the Palace of the Republic, the main building crowning this gigantic construction project, was not ready.

This creation, I think, deserves a more detailed description. The palace is quadrangular, around 100 meters tall, and 45,000 square meters in area. It is made entirely of white marble and glass. It is fitted with the most valuable types of wood. There are three offices, one 280 square meters in area, intended for Ceausescu himself, and an office of similar proportions for his wife, Elena.

"The building of the palace alone took more than 15,000 men daily. Half of them were Romanian army soldiers," I was told by Colonel of Engineering Troops K. Luce, who began working here in 1984 when the palace's foundations were laid. "Ceausescu directed the construction personally and came here three or four times a week with his retinue, openly interfered in the project, and several times made us rebuild sections that were already complete."

Tribute must be paid to the diligence and skill of the Romanian people, who created this colossal white marble palace with their own hands in a short space of time. But it was exhausting slave labor. The echoing halls of the Palace of the Republic as well as the Ceausescus' sumptuous residence, which journalists have also visited, clearly illustrate the gulf separating the dictator from the people.

Behind the marble facade of the palaces the ordinary Romanian people's lives became progressively worse and poorer year by year. An eloquent example of that is provided by the last decree "On Saving Electricity." Under that decree the electricity consumption norm was set at 50 kw per month, the use of electric light in apartments was restricted to 25 watts, and the temperature in apartments in winter was not to exceed 14-16 degrees.

Here is another piece of evidence, this time from Tania Valunescu, a resident of Bucharest. We talked at a subway station. "For many years the people's situation was intolerable," she said sadly. "The radio and television constantly broadcast the rosy reports of Ceausescu and other functionaries about our great achievements, whereas even with ration cards people couldn't obtain the statutory food norm. And what a norm that was. Judge for yourself. One kilogram of meat per person per month, 10 eggs, 0.5 liters of vegetable oil, 1 kg of rice... In winter we slept in our clothes because heating was restricted. The hot water was turned only for 2 hours just two or three times a week. There was a catastrophic shortage of medicines in hospitals."

This is a bitter account. It can be corroborated by any Romanian inhabitant. For many years the country was nothing but a gigantic prison where anyone could be detained in fear of his life and his rights could be infringed.

...The weather is surprisingly sunny this January in Bucharest. It is as though nature itself is arousing the Romanian people to new life. It is a hectic and bustling life, all the plants and enterprises are working flat out, and city dwellers and soldiers are clearing the streets.

Yesterday 110 families whose homes were destroyed during the uprising moved into new apartments.

Returning USSR Citizens Report Romania Events

90UI0253A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Report by A. Bogomolov: "We Have Returned Home"]

[Text] In recent days we have carefully read with heightened attention the lines of newspaper reports about events in Romania, thinking with disquiet: How are things there, in this country friendly to us, where the bloodiest civil conflict in Europe since the end of World War II is raging? Without doubt one of the components of this disquiet was alarm over the fate of Soviet citizens in Romania, officials at our representations, specialists, typists. It is easy to imagine what their relatives felt, looking at pictures of burning Bucharest.

Yesterday many of them breathed a sigh of relief: In the morning a train arrived at Kiev station with 330 of our citizens returning home—women, children, two groups of tourists.

On 22 December at 6 pm armored carriers and tanks approached our residential complex, A.I. Bakshayev and A.N. Yelagin related. They opened fire on the house, and later explained that they wanted to drive out the securitate personnel in it. Tank shells went right through the house, so we had to go down to the basement. The shooting continued. After some time, armed persons started breaking into the basement. After they fired several salvos at the doors, we lay down on the floor. Then they entered the room, picked us up, put us against the wall with hands behind our heads, and ordered us to lie down. That was done twice, while they photographed and recorded with a videocamera. The firing grew heavier, this time not only from the tank and armored carriers on the street, but also from the opposite side, from the television center. Only then did the evacuation begin. The soldiers first led out women and children, then the men, running across the open place under bombardment from the armored carriers. They drove us to the embassy.

From the morning of 23 December it was quiet, no firing, continued A.V. Kirillova and V.N. Porostayev, workers of the Cheboksary production association "Textilmash," who during these tragic days found themselves in Romania on a temporary work assignment. Crowds of people walked the streets shouting slogans. If you showed two upraised fingers to the patrols—"victoria" or "victory"—you were allowed to pass. Toward evening we were taken in buses to the railroad station, but bloody fighting was in progress there. Securitate troops were executing people. We drove back to the embassy. "How did the train cross Romanian territory?"

"It was very long, over 24 hours. We traveled over circuitous routes. In one place a bridge was blown up; in another electric power lines were down. Blackout was observed during hours of darkness. The conductor frequently announced an alert and we all had to lie down on the floor. But now, at last, we are home."

I tried to find official representatives of the embassy or consulate in the crowd in order to get details from them.

They all returned to Romania after the train crossed our border, says I.F. Tkachenko, head of the Socialist Countries Division of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Main Personnel Administration. All our institutions in Romania continue to function. We know that groups of Soviet tourists remain in the mountain regions. According to our information they are all alive. In the near future they also will return to their native country. I also want to emphasize: There have been rumors that several of our motoring tourists have been killed. That is not so; all Soviet citizens in Romania are alive. There are, as previously announced, several injured. Now conditions in the country are normalizing and resistance of forces loyal to the previous regime is weakening.

Romanian TV Seen as Base for Revolution

90UI0246A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 52, 27 Dec 89 p 9

[Article by NOVOSTI correspondents Sergey Gryzunov, Aleksandr Slavynko, and Vyacheslav Samoshin: "Uneasy Christmas in Romania"]

[Text] We failed in our first attempt to get into the building of the Romanian television station. The little street that led to it was kept under fire by a terrorist from under the roof of one of the houses. During the last 24 hours, 40,000 such firing points were found. At night the terrorists occupy prepared positions in empty houses, in attics, or behind fences and then begin to fire at the soldiers that went over to the NSF [National Salvation Front]. They also shoot at the volunteers' detachments of the patriotic guards and at the units of the Revolutionary Youth's Front.

The security forces that are still "loyal" to overthrown dictator Ceausescu see the television station, airport, railway terminal, and telephone stations as some of their main targets. But it is not that they are fighting for Ceausescu now, they are just trying to save their own skin.

This very district of the city provides ideal hideouts for the marksmen and gunners with its residential houses built in the traditional Romanian "brynkovyanu" style of solid walls and formidable fences. By the character of the terrorists' actions one can get an idea of the prepared strongholds, which are now operational, that were stockpiled with weapons, ammunition, and food. At present we do not have any official data, but according to unofficial reports, between 12,000 and 14,000 people have died in Romania since the demonstration in Timisoara on 16 December.

We could see how tense the atmosphere in the country was as we traveled the previous day from the Yugoslav border to Bucharest. In towns and villages we were often stopped by units of the national guard and of the Revolutionary Youth's Front. The armed people were polite but insistent in their requests to search our car and check our papers.

To be honest with you, we were very glad to feel the sincere cordiality expressed toward our country. The population has already been informed of the statement and message to the Romanian people on behalf of the Second Congress of the USSR People's Deputies and they have accepted it gladly.

On the ground along the road we saw warped wooden and metal billboards carrying slogans to the glory of the "great son of the Romanian people." Bonfires were burning on the roadside that were fed with the portraits and "immortal" works of Nicolae Ceausescu. Industrial enterprises and strategic locations were guarded by tanks and armored personnel carriers. We gave all of our cigarettes to the soldiers and tank crews.

The stretch of the road from the outskirts of Bucharest to the APN [NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY] building proved to be the toughest. It took us 2 hours to cover 10 km of the road with its cordons, patrols, barricades, checkpoints, and tanks. We could not have made it through all that screening if not for a bearded man with a tri-color band on his sleeve. An architect, Mirchu Dimitresku, driving his own car showed us, in complete darkness, a roundabout way to the Soviet Embassy building. We sneaked through behind him with our headlights off.

The Soviet Embassy was overcrowded with the family members of employees of Soviet organizations in Romania. Unfortunately, some of them were wounded.

Not far from the embassy, in the APN building, a heavy machine-gun bullet pierced a window pane, broke off a piece of the wall, and damaged some communications equipment. The damage to the residential building of the Soviet trade mission was much more serious.

Despite the dramatic atmosphere, the NSF council, which took power and is now acting as a provisional government, is in general control of the situation in the capital and in the country. On 24 December the council made public its statement on measures to restore order. The council aims to cease fire on the entire territory of the country; appeals to everyone (except the army and national guard units) to surrender their weapons by 1700 on Monday [1 January]; announces the transfer of the internal affairs units under the command of the Ministry of National Defense; and it aims to strengthen the defense of most essential points and to provide normal living conditions for the people. The council called for the quickest peaceful way to achieve national harmony and thus to guarantee the victory of the revolution.

We talked with the representatives of the Revolutionary Youth's Front, with patriotic guards, with the military, and with journalists, and we could sense their optimism and their faith in the success of the popular revolt. The editor-in-chief of the new newspaper NARODNAYA ISKRA [SPARK OF THE PEOPLE], Ion Mitran, told us: "The revolution is at a difficult stage now. Adherents of the old regime are trying to instill panic among the people with their terrorist actions. But there is hope, there is even assuredness, there is the enormous power of the people which cannot be stopped now. We will solve our problems by consolidating all of the democratic forces in our society on the basis of pluralism. But for now it is necessary to put an end to the terrorists, to restore some order to the country."

Night descended upon Bucharest, Christmas Eve. The shooting stopped for a while. What will this Christmas bring to the Romanian people? Hopefully, some peace and quiet.

P.S. After this copy was written, we received additional material from Vyacheslav Samoshkin.

Rifle and artillery fire does not stop in the city. Even now I am trying to write these lines through the sounds of shots fired by a terrorist somewhere on the roof of a house next door. It just so happened that the APN building is surrounded on all sides by houses that used to belong to the security forces. Ceausescu's policy was to strengthen the security forces and destroy the army in the case of extraordinary events, like those taking place now. It is very difficult for the People's Army, which was meant to function as a military construction unit, to fight the well-armed and trained officers of the security forces ("securists").

I happened to talk about this subject with Colonel Iordan Redulesku, in charge of the defense of the former Romanian Comminist Party Central Committee building. The building now houses the headquarters of the revolution—the NSF council. The colonel said: "The revolutionary forces are in control; they have the most important lines of communication in their hands. The former dictator had a huge number of terrorists trained in the ranks of the security forces and now they are active in the city. They had been trained as "commandos" in special schools. Those people did nothing but various physical training. At the same military training bases there were "commandos" from some African countries who paid for their training in hard currency. A whole system of special secret lines of communications was built in the city and across the country. They included underground tunnels, ammunition depots, and accesses. We do not even know all of them yet. All of this was meant to help fight the revolutionary forces. As you can see, the tyrant had foreseen everything!"

Romanian television, in fact, became a platform for glasnost and democracy; it became the political backbone of the revolution as well as its control panel to a certain degree. And this might be the most unique trait of the Romanian revolution.

Here in the studio, in full view of thousands of people, all creative forces of the people are consolidating around the NSF Council which is acting as a provisional government. The council's program outlines an exceptionally wide range of democratic transformations. The explanation for this may be that it was the country's best intellectuals who led the revolution; especially those who had bravely challenged the feudal dictatorship during its reign. They are poets Mircha Dinesku and Ana Blandiana, and writers Dan Doshliu and Aurel Dragosh-Muntyanu. They are former political activists Aleksandru Byrledyanu and Ion Iliesku; dissident priest Laslo Tekesh who was protected by the young people of Timisoara; army generals that joined the revolution; and workers and students.

At the television station I managed to talk to a member of the NSF council, poet Ana Blandiana. She was happy as a child over everything that had taken place in Romania.

"I never had anything to do with politics," said she. "But a few years ago my books were banned and I came to understand that my poems have a political meaning. And now the people showed me their trust. I am going to work in the council day and night. I will try to do my best for my country, for democracy, for the revolution. Later, after the democratic elections in April I will quit politics. I will go on writing my books again."

The very first steps of the NSF council show how unusually radical the program's transformations are: All political and government structures "created to serve the Ceausescu clan" have been dismissed; they included the State Council and the Great National Assembly. The council denied the only existing party in the country its leading position; they introduced pluralism and eliminated the ideological dogmas that irrevocably damaged the society; they want to reform the economy according to its own principles. One can mention here the plans to stop exporting foodstuffs, to allow free entry and exit from the country, to eliminate censorship, to cancel the president's decree banning abortions.

If Romania would learn from the lessons of perestroyka in the USSR and in other socialist countries and rely also on its own experience of democracy in the 1920's and 1930's, as well as of some liberalism in the sixties, it can in fact become a civilized country and provide equality for all of its citizens as it is stated in the program of the NSF council.

According to Bucharest Radio, N. Ceausescu and his wife were executed on Monday after a secret trial where they were accused of "heinous crimes" against Romania.

Reviving BCP Readies Extraordinary Congress

PM0901152390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent L. Zhmyrev dispatch under the rubric "Life in the Fraternal Parties": "Rumors and Facts"]

[Text] Sofia, 8 Jan—There are 3 weeks left until the opening of the 14th, Extraordinary Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Congress.

Meetings are being held in primary party organizations and conferences prepared in municipal committees. Issue after issue of RABOTNICHESKO DELO has published a page entitled "Discussion on Restructuring in the BCP." The work of BCP Central Committee subdepartments has increased considerably.

For some time now rumors have been spreading in Bulgaria that thousands of Communists are handing in their party membership cards. Is this really true? Answering this question, N. Kosev, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee Organizational Department, quoted specific figures. The BCP currently has more than 984,000 members. Since 10 November last year, when the regime of T. Zhivkov's personal power came to an end, 107 people in Sofia, for example, have left the party for various reasons. At the same time, 492 people have applied to join the party. These figures reflect the trend throughout the country as a whole.

Rumors of a mass exodus from the BCP are therefore unfounded. Quite the reverse is true: Information from provincial and municipal party committees attests to a growing desire to join its ranks. Many applications are being received from people who want to renew their membership of the BCP: During Zhivkov's rule they were expelled from the party for daring to criticize the established order of things. This trend is being taken into account during preparations for the extraordinary congress.

The BCP is becoming more open to dialogue with other political forces in the country. A "roundtable" session is planned for 16 January which will involve the BCP, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the Union of Democratic Forces, and other organizations in a discussion of topical issues concerning the country's development.

Various internal party platforms are arising during the preparation for the congress: the "BCP-Democratic Forum," the "Alternative Socialist Association," and the "Bulgarian Path to Europe." They are united by the common idea of de-Stalinizing the party and broadening internal party democracy.

Bulgarian Dispute Over Turks' Rights Noted

PM1001112990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Kapralov report: "Trying Times"]

[Text] Sofia—According to Bulgarian criteria, neither the severe frost—in Sofia it reaches minus 20 degrees—nor calls for restraint and calm have cooled the passions which flared up in many of Bulgaria's regions around the

decision to restore the legal rights of the country's Turkish-speaking population concerning the free choice of names.

At first the city of Kurdzhali was the center of protest rallies against this decision. It was from there that the initiators sent telexes and telegrams to other cities appealing for their support. And then in Shumen, Varna, Burgas, Razgrad, and Khaskovo on the weekend there were major rallies, and the day before there were also strikes. Leading figures in the country are in all the "troublespots." They are trying to convince people of the necessity, timeliness, and correctness of the step taken, but unfortunately they are by no means meeting with understanding everywhere.

Sofia, National Assembly Square. The pickets have been standing here for 4 days, and sometimes also at night. A Bulgarian Red Cross tent, where hot tea is being handed out, has been pitched 20 meters from the parliament building. An ambulance is on duty. People are bringing thermoses with coffee, newcomers are being given addresses for lodgings for the night. Those who have not found shelter are spending the night in buses. Straight ahead, by the steps of the main entrance to the National Assembly, there is a pile of packages containing provisions. It is being brought in by truck by the owners of some public catering enterprises.

The present headquarters of the rally participants is located in the vicinity of "Varshava" cafe on Ruski Boulevard. Here the action committee holds its meetings, the improvised press center created on Saturday evening and the strike committee work, and declarations are composed. The latest one was read out at a rally on Sunday in the square by the Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral, where thousands of people were brought in to Sofia from many regions of the country. Banners saying "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians!" "Don't make the people's decisions for them," and "Who is kissing Turkish soil?" were raised over the square, and national flags were fluttering.

All the speakers assessed the decision of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers as incorrect and hasty, as having been taken without consulting the people and especially people living in the regions of "heightened tension."

At the request of the rally participants G. Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, went up the cathedral steps which had been turned into an improvised platform. Unfortunately, he was not given the chance to set out his position. Shouting and whistling also accompanied the speech by A. Semerdzhiyev, minister of internal affairs. We need to find our place in European civilization, the minister said, otherwise we will perish as a state. But these words were rejected by the majority, as also was an appeal to refrain from the strikes which are aggravating the already critical state of the economy.

In the evening the chairman of the Council of Ministers spoke on Bulgarian television. He said that the country's government is following the development of events with great concern. It is not overdramatizing the situation, but nor can it fail to share concern about the escalation of social tension. As the organ of executive and administrative power the government is responsible for preventing the processes from getting out of reasonable control.

The government realizes that the implementation of the political line will be difficult, complex, and contradictory. But, G. Atanasov said, we are convinced that the decision taken is in accordance with efforts directed at overcoming all the consequences of the authoritarian regime and serves as a necessary condition for bringing legislation into line with generally accepted international legal norms.

G. Atanasov stressed that the restoration of constitutional rights and freedoms flouted since 1984 does not require a referendum. The referendum proposal being put forward in a number of places is illegal and unacceptable.

Now, G. Atanasov stated, we are witnessing extreme assessments and judgments. We categorically condemn all manifestations of pan-Turkism. Attempts by certain political forces to use the situation to sow mistrust of state institutions and of government actions are also causing concern. Intrigue concerning vital national problems has always cost both the state and the people dearly. Raising a foreign state flag at demonstrations and rallies and in public places, the chairman of the Council of Ministers stressed, is not to be tolerated. Such instances must be looked on as an infringement of state sovereignty and punished with all the severity of the law.

The ministries of national defense and internal affairs have issued a statement to Bulgaria's citizens which said in particular that Bulgaria's armed forces are resolutely in favor of fulfilling the decision made. Within the limits presented to them by the existing legislation, both ministries will fulfill their constitutional functions steadfastly and precisely, and these will be monitored by the people.

The National Assembly leadership convened a public council 8 January to discuss different aspects of the national question. Representatives of the population elected at the rally in Sofia on Sunday and also of the action committees from regions which took part in organizing it were invited to participate in the council's work; representatives of the Bulgarian Turkish-speaking and Muslim population; leaders of the National Assembly, parliamentary groups, and all standing commissions; representatives of public forces which had signed the joint declaration of Bulgarian political and public organizations; prominent nonparty public figures; the patriarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and the chief mufti. "We appeal to your patriotism, common sense, and national responsibility so that together we can

find the most reliable way out of the critical situation now created, which could lead to catastrophic events in Bulgaria," the National Assembly leadership appeal said.

Commentary on CPCZ Central Committee Session

LD0901181490 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Commentary by observer Valentin Aleksandrov on the outcome of the meeting of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, CPCZ, Central Committee—read by announcer]

[Text] In my view, our observer says, it would not have been right to presuppose that last Saturday's session of the CPCZ Central Committee would submit a detailed and precisely elaborated action program. The party has been going through serious turmoil and had very little time to prepare such a program, the more so as party organizations are under a great deal of pressure now. This is why we may have expected a big explosion of passions. However, this did not happen. The meeting took place in a calm and businesslike atmosphere. The participants in the meeting accepted with understanding the party's real position in society. They proceeded exactly from this premise when making various decisions.

What kind of role has the party meeting played in the life of the party and its future activity? In my view, the structural changes carried out in the party management organs are very important. In place of a large and cumbersome apparatus, party activity will be directed by a numerically smaller and thus considerably more mobile Central Committee. Primary party organizations and rank-and-file Communists, many of whom have spoken up against the old leadership, the administrative and bureaucratic methods of its work, and the overt suppression of criticism from below, will be very important.

The detachment of former leading officials from the party and therefore also from the people resulted in big political, economic, and social mistakes. How all this ended is known. But it is to the credit of thousands of honest and principled Communists that revolutionary changes were able to take place peacefully and without violence, said Ladislav Adamec at the meeting.

The participants in the meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee have also succeeded in giving strategic directions to party work. From now on all CPCZ Central Committee decisions will be approved in an atmosphere of glasnost under the effective supervision of the party and all Communists. It is precisely in these conditions, in the conditions of total glasnost that a party new in spirit will be shaped—the aim of which will be to serve the people, and not to manage them.

This fundamental reorientation is of enormous significance for the present division of political forces. The party will be one of the components of the general democratic process and will have to fight for influence among people against strong rivals. In my view, the meeting correctly emphasized honest dialogue and not opposition of everything and everyone not belonging to the party. The meeting stated clearly that the idea of national mutual understanding is close to Communists. The Soviet Union shares the conviction of the CPCZ that socialism is not dead but that it is a real force attracting the minds and hearts of millions of people. It cannot be excluded that in Czechoslovakia the renewed CPCZ will in my view succeed gradually in winning the confidence of the popular masses.

PRAVDA Views CSSR Political Scene

PM1001142190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 First Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent S. Vtorushin under the rubric "Czechoslovakia Today": "After Stormy Days"]

[Text] Prague, January—The stormy internal political life which has shaken all Czechoslovakia over the past 6 weeks calmed down in the 2 days before the New Year. On 29 December, as is well known, the country's new president was elected. He is one of the leaders of the Civic Forum—the rights defender, writer, and playwright Vaclav Havel. For the first time in the past 40 years this post has been taken by someone who is not a representative of the communist party.

The day before a Federal Assembly session had elected the new head of parliament. He is A. Dubcek—the former first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee and one of the leaders of the "Prague Spring" who was expelled from the party after 1968 and has worked for nearly 20 years since then in forestry.

Even earlier, 10 December, the new government was formed, and although it is headed by a Communist, Marian Calfa, it is controlled not by the CPCZ (since Communists are in the minority in it) but by the Civic Forum.

If only 2 months ago some people had suggested that such such changes would take place in the CSSR and that these men would join the leadership, hardly anyone would have believed it. Indeed at the time even the Civic Forum, which has declared itself to be a public organization but which in actual fact is now the decisive political force, did not exist. It emerged 18 November, the day after the dispelling of the student demonstration as a result of which people were injured. What is the reason for its unprecedented success and the removal from power of the CPCZ, which has led the state for 41 years?

There is an opinion (it is true that only a few people voice it) that the reason for its removal lies in its inept, incompetent use of power. But if you look at the root of the problem it lies elsewhere: in the monopolization by a small group of people of all aspects of society's political,

economic, cultural, and spiritual life. A group which also arrogated a monopoly "right" to the truth.

If you consider that competent people with the necessary moral qualities were not always in the top echelons of power, it is not hard to understand the reason for the masses' dissatisfaction with the state of affairs. People were tired of promises, tired of the constant discrepancy between word and deed and of waiting for a better life.

The Civic Forum's slogan—"We want to live in a free, democratic, prosperous Czechoslovakia"—united society, and the former leadership had to leave the political arena.

The civic forum became the largest political force in just a few days. It set two main aims: Taking political power in its hands and then holding free elections. With the election of the country's new president the first stage of the Czechoslovak changes has been completed. Free elections to the local and central organs of power will to all appearances be held in June. What will Czechoslovak society be like, what has it already become? Many people are asking these questions now.

It may confidently be said that there will be no return to the past. The country's sociopolitical life and the placement of forces have changed radically. And not only because the article about the CPCZ's leading role has been removed from the CSSR constitution. Czechoslovak society itself has changed.

For instance, take the trade unions. The working class has expressed complete distrust in their former leadership. It has been replaced by an action committee which is now preparing an extraordinary congress. The strike committees which have arisen at enterprises are working alongside it. They are demanding the radical renewal of the entire trade union movement. Young people, including students, are seeking new, more democratic and effective forms of organizing their movement.

Similar processes are under way in the creative organizations. The Czechoslovak mass media have become absolutely different, openly describing problems and offering their pages and air time to people who express sometimes diametrically opposite views. New publications have emerged.

A sharp politicization of society has occurred. Alongside the change in the status of existing parties, new political parties have been created and continue to be created. The biggest of them—the social democratic party—has already begun to publish its own printed organ, PRAVO LIDU, and there is also the peasant party, whose constituent congress is scheduled for 13 January.

Fundamental amendments have been made to the program for the country's economic development. Describing it in his speech at the Federal Assembly session, government chairman Marian Calfa said: "The long-term economic aim of the government of national consensus is the preparation of the transition to a market economy, because only that economy can create a rational national economy, improve the people's living standard, and make sensible use of natural resources. We cannot allow ourselves to experiment with some economic model so far untested by anyone, a model based on a combination of principles whose very compatibility has nowhere been proven. We must accept the market economy with all its merits and drawbacks."

The government has stated that it is immediately beginning to elaborate measures to eliminate monopolies, including regional ones. That applies not only to industry but also to wholesale trade, supply organizations, material and technical provision, and foreign trade. Legal and financial aid will be given to newly created cooperatives and private enterprises organized by Czechoslovak citizens and foreigners and also to joint ventures with the participation of foreign capital.

In the middle of December the son of the well-known Western businessman of Czechoslovak origin, Tomas Bata, who founded Europe's largest shoe production facility in the 1930's, visited the CSSR. Bata junior, who followed in his father's footsteps and now lives in Canada, has several shoe enterprises and own-brand stores there. His trip was covered extensively in the press and he was received by a number of high-ranking statesman. Bata junior visited the "Svit" footwear association, where he had talks on his possible participation in the modernization of the Czechoslovak footwear industry. When he left he signed an agreement on opening his own-brand shoe store in Czechoslovakia.

These visits by businessmen are being widely welcomed by the present leadership. Many people who were obliged to leave their homeland at various times for political reasons are visiting the CSSR. They are taking part in televised debates, delivering lectures, and giving interviews. They are all being asked: How do you see the future of Czechoslovakia and its place in Europe and the world? The replies are guarded, but the majority agree on one thing: The country should develop in such a way as not to become a destabilizing factor in Europe.

The new government has stated its adherence to existing international treaties and agreements. at the same time it has expressed itself clearly in favor of more active participation in European affairs and the expansion of contacts, primarily with neighboring countries. A decision has already been taken regarding visaless trips to Austria for Czechoslovak citizens. Fences have been removed on many sectors of the border between the two states and border stations have been opened. In the 3 weeks after this decision came into force tens of thousands of CSSR citizens traveled to Vienna and other Austrian cities.

In describing the CSSR today we cannot overlook the situation in which the CPCZ has found itself. It is undergoing a crisis. The CPCZ's former policy disillusioned not only society but also many honest Communists. A considerable proportion of them recently

handed in and are continuing to hand in their party cards. The self-dissolution of primary organizations is under way. Rank and file Communists have started to distrust the party apparatus. The decline in the party's prestige has also been affected by the overheavy load of errors of the past, primarily the policy of its leadership after the 1968-1969 events.

Investigating errors, outlining paths for the consolidation of healthy forces and the party's emergence from the crisis—that was the task of the extraordinary CPCZ Congress held 20-21 December. Before it started many Communists spoke of the possible split of the party. And this danger did exist. But the delegates were able to overcome the tension and adopt documents which can make it possible to halt the further development of the internal party crisis. They include a program of actions which has been dubbed "for a democratic, socialist society in the CSSR" and an appeal to former CPCZ members expelled from the party after 1968 inviting them to rejoin it. There is also a decision to break with those who promoted the party's deformation and discredited both the party itself and the ideas of socialism as a whole.

Delivering the concluding speech at the congress, CPCZ Chairman Ladislav Adamec said:

"The key question is the restoration of our combat capability. I do not want to be a prophet, but it is perhaps a question of the last opportunity to defend our values and remain a significant political force. What is the party's prospect, where are its ideological foundations and social function? In the fact that it is precisely now that it must prove in practice that it is more than a political party and become the real vanguard of the movement toward a new life."

Despite the internal crisis and the fundamentally altered internal political situation, the CPCZ has many supporters. Its further position in society will depend on the ability to assess correctly the feelings of the masses and to elaborate in good time its tactic and strategy of action with a consideration for these feelings.

The USSR and the CSSR are linked by long-standing political, economic, cultural, and other ties. Everything positive that has been accumulated must be treated carefully. Both states have many opportunities for deepening and expanding mutually advantageous contacts. Unfortunately, our economic managers are so far displaying too little interest in setting up production sharing and creating joint ventures. It may be that this will be more difficult to do later.

And so the first stage of the "gentle" revolution, as the working masses' November demonstrations in the CSSR are called, has been completed. New forces and new leaders have emerged on the political scene. Ahead there is a radical renewal of society, the resurrection of its democratic traditions, the emancipation of the economy, and the imparting of the necessary dynamism to its development. These forces have come to the surface through the will of the people dissatisfied with the former leadership's policy. Now much depends on the new leaders' practical steps. The time will come and the enthusiasm will abate and the trust largely received on credit will have to be back up by real deeds.

The elections, at which a very keen struggle will be waged between the parties, is not far off. The real correlation of forces and people's degree of trust in each party and public organization will become clear. Today it is scarcely possible to predict their outcome.

PZPR Central Committee Plenum Concludes

Draft Program Summarized

PM0901155990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Forward-Looking"]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Jan—Poland's future must be linked not with capitalism but with democratic socialism, which means freedom, democracy, social justice and solidarity—so stresses the draft Programmatic Declaration discussed at the 17th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum, which has ended here, and which will be submitted for examination at the forthcoming 11th party congress. There must be a thorough restructuring of the Polish economy and the creation of a new, efficient economic order on the principles of the market economy, as well as the combination of economic efficiency with social justice. This cannot be achieved without an active regulatory and social policy on the part of the state, the document says. It expresses a desire for cooperation between the new party and the National Trade Union Alliance and collaboration with left-wing currents within Solidarity.

The draft's international section stresses that independence and political and economic sovereignty are the highest value for the party. It repudiates force in relations between states and supports disarmament and the strengthening of trust. Poland's position in the heart of the continent must be utilized when realizing the idea of the common European home. While respecting our state's alliances, which we see as the guarantee of Poland's security, we will strive to create an effective system of collective security in Europe, the draft says. This will make it possible to disband the military blocs in the future. Poland's alliance with the USSR, which is based on equitable, mutually beneficial state and economic relations, particularly in the new conditions, is an important factor for the country's security and development and guarantees the durability of its borders.

The aim of the new party, which is to be created through hard work, will be to unite all those who adhere to left-wing positions and to preserve its ideological essence, M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, noted when delivering the closing speech at the plenum. The most important thing is to look to the sources of Polish socialism, to restore to that

idea everything which has been neglected or forgotten, and to appeal to the national factor.

The speaker termed a success the fact that the party has not disintegrated at the last moment before the congress. It was important to approach the congress as a single party with united ranks because only then will its opponents take account of it. The party's decisions must be forward-looking. It is necessary to express an attitude to the government's radical economic program, to take into account the worsening social mood and the growth in the number of those expressing concern and criticism of the government's policy, and to elaborate an alternative to it.

The PZPR leadership expressed the belief that the congress will result in the creation of a single party of left-wing forces.

Upcoming 11th Congress Viewed

PM1001165790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Jan—The 17th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum held in Warsaw 6 January was the final stage in the preparation for the 11th PZPR Congress scheduled for 27 January and for its transformation into the constituent congress of a new Polish left-wing party. In addition to Central Committee members, participants in its work included members of the presidium of the PZPR Deputies' Club in the Sejm and representatives of delegates to the 11th party congress and the central commission for the preparation of the supreme party forum.

The plenum was opened by M. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The party is entering the final phase of preparation for the 11th PZPR Congress which, I believe, will complete that phase and open a new stage in the process of forming an organization of Polish left-wing forces, the PZPR leader stated. That stage, he stressed, will be the constituent congress of a new party. The future of that party, of left-wing forces in Poland, and of the whole country will depend to a considerable extent on us and on the delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress. Mindful of this historic responsibility, we must do everything to ensure that the congress does not become an arena for settling scores and for clashes of personalities. The work and final documents of the party forum must be directed first and foremost toward the future.

The plenum participants examined the drafts of the programmatic declaration, the provisional statutes of the new left-wing party, standpoints on socioeconomic and political problems, the agenda of the congress and the constituent congress, and other documents to be submitted for the delegates' scrutiny.

After a lively discussion, during which a number of specific remarks and proposals were expressed on the draft documents presented, the plenum adopted a final resolution. According to that resolution it has been decided to hold a poll in the party on the choice of a name for the new Polish left-wing party.

Polish Defense Minister Cited on Force Cuts

PM1001160590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jan 90 Second Edition p5

[TASS report: "Restructuring in the Polish People's Army"]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Jan—The program for restructuring the Polish People's Army in 1989 has been met in full, Army General F. Siwicki, Polish national defense minister, has said on television.

The armed forces, he said, have been reduced by a further 33,000 personnel. A total of 68 military units and subunits have been disbanded, 147 have undergone structural changes, and 400 tanks, 700 artillery pieces and mortars, 600 armored personnel carriers, and approximately 80 aircraft have been taken out of operation.

The structure of the army is being fundamentally reorganized. In particular, there are considerably fewer tanks in the divisions. Air defense forces are being combined with the air forces. The military instruction system is still being improved. A corps of officer-instructors has been formed in place of the party political apparatus.

The process of restructuring the armed forces will continue this year. Altogether the army is to be reduced by a further 10,000 men, and by the end of 1990 the Polish People's Army will have approximately 300,000 personnel.

Polish Reforms Need Support From Populace

90UI0234A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by A. Starukhin: "Poland Today—Difficult Decisions"]

[Text] **Poland now finds itself in a prolonged and deep crisis while it is trying to carry out daring reforms in its economy, internal political structure, and the social sphere. It needs financial support as never before; Poland needs it now more than in the years when its treasury was receiving billions of dollars. Poland is now reminded of it having been in the coffers as the money needs to be repaid in full in addition to the minimum of 15-percent interest. These monies were quickly spent on food and on foreign-made mass-produced clothes. Unfortunately, they were used little by the industries.**

Now it is a different type of issue: Money, whether the country's own or borrowed in the form of aid, should be

used to modernize certain enterprises and whole industries, to develop the latest technology, to create highly efficient enterprises together with the developed countries, to retrain personnel and provide fundamental restructuring of the economy in general as its internal market mechanism grows stronger.

The Warsaw superhotels "Marriott", "Holiday Inn", and "Victoria" which operate for hard currency every day check people from various countries and parts of the world in and out. This is a specific category of businessmen: They are dealing with aid to Poland—a problem of special concern. These are bankers, politicians, fully powered representatives of industrial concerns, and public figures. They come with the purpose of evaluating the state of things and the economic situation in the country with maximum objectivity. They also try to sound out the advisable directions in which cooperation might be developed so that the money can be invested profitably.

Such financial big shots as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the IMF, as well as less important banking concerns and single bankers request preliminary well-defined economic programs from the Polish Government. Such programs should confirm the intention to use the money in a sensible way, mainly, to purchase and develop modern technology which can increase the production of foodstuffs and manufactured goods with a view to their competitiveness.

The decision to provide aid may sometimes depend on the fleeting mood of the society, on circumstances that verge on ridiculous. For instance, the trip of L. Walesa, the leader of "Solidarity", to the United States and his visit to Congress turned into a kind of promotional campaign to persuade the listeners to help Poland. According to the witty comment of the Polish press he received royalties of $300 million. That is the sum by which the previously planned subsidies to Poland were increased.

The government of T. Mazowiecki definitely should be fully armed to deal with a problem such as this. They should have detailed plans for improvement of the economy. Their voluminous economic program consists of two parts: The first is intended for the immediate future. At this threshold in time, the government should stabilize certain prices, stop inflation of the zloty, and improve industrial operation by the introduction of the basic principles of a market economy. Industries will be demonopolized, property will be transformed, and subsidies will be cancelled. This process has begun already. It is complex and very painful for enterprises and budgeting organizations; it is even more painful for an ordinary Pole who lives on his salary or pension. The goal of the preliminary stage of the program is to considerably decrease the amount of money circulating within the population which means that prices would rise. Is there anyone, far removed from what is happening, capable of accepting as normal the fact that, for instance, the price of both bread and milk is 20 times more expensive than last year and the price of butter grew 13 times?

However, the latter goal has been reached: During the period September-October the people's expenses exceeded their incomes for the first time. Perhaps this is not the only goal that has been reached. In early October Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki was interviewed by the Swedish newspaper DAGENS NYHETER. In the interview he said that there were two roads open to the government: One in the direction of free market economy capable of pulling Poland out of its crisis; the other toward a return to a centrally directed economy that would put the brakes on price increases but would not provide better conditions for the improvement of production in future. The choice was made: The most difficult and daring which exacerbates the problems of economic activity in most industries. The annual output of coal, which averaged 190 million tons, is expected to drop by approximately 13 million tons. Enterprises have more problems with the supply of raw materials, mainly imported ones; the domestic as well as foreign trade turnover dropped. In some cases store shelves remain empty, in other cases television shows depressing pictures of sausages and frankfurters in a garbage dump—no one could afford them. The owners preferred to throw away the perishable goods rather than lower their financial ambitions even though the free market should have provoked them to do it. Statistics show that the people decreased their consumption of certain foods by 20%-30%.

It seems that the coming year and especially its first half will not bring any relief to the Polish society; on the contrary, social tensions will grow. The government set itself the goal of reaching the internal convertibility of the zloty in the shortest possible time. One billion dollars, which comes from the so-called stabilizing fund created by aid money, has been allocated to carry out radical measures. However, these measures are so radical that, according to information provided at Deputy Finance Minister M. Dombrowski's last news conference, a new wave of three- and five-fold increases in prices is approaching; at the same time salaries will remain frozen and therefore the standard of living will drop by 20 percent. They also expect an approximate five-percent drop in industrial output and a partial drop in national income. It already has been announced that the price of coal will increase five to seven times which will cause an increase in the price of electric power. A new term has appeared and was made official by the authorities: "unemployed". This word is expected to apply to 400,000 people next year. As you can see, radical measures for the improvement of the economy also involve "radical deprivations". These are fine if they do not last long.

To revive a creative atmosphere for the people, they should first become unequivocal supporters of the reforms and transformations. Their hopes and beliefs should be awakened and strengthened. Unfortunately, a

considerable number of people who for many years carried the burden of the prolonged crisis are in a state of apathy and are very distant from actively supporting the reforms. It is true that the majority of Polish miners responded positively to Maxowiecki's call to increase coal output. A shortage of the fuel threatened to cause serious problems during winter, so the miners agreed to work on Saturdays.

But not everyone is prepared to understand all of this. The government planned to replenish grain supplies not only through foreign aid but also by means of an additional purchase of about 1 million tons of grain from Polish farmers. As it happened, the farmers harvested quite a good crop but were in no hurry to sell the grain because they were, and with good reason, apprehensive about a drop in the value of the money they would receive for the grain caused by inflation. The grain does not get devalued, does it? The government then offered them a "grain loan" which meant: You give us the grain and we will pay you for it next year according to the new prices. Some people responded to this idea but in general little support was generated.

The long-term second stage of the program foresees complete victory over inflation; it outlines the introduction of economic levers supported by various "well-tested forms of property" as they are referred to occasionally by the official representatives. But all of this will come later, even though the economic committee of the Polish Council of Ministers should make amendments to 170 acts by the end of this year!

"The Poles must help themselves," can be heard in parliaments and at summit talks, at meetings of bankers, entrepreneurs, and businessmen. Somebody is talking about postponing the payments of old debts which also might greatly help the Polish economy. Some people lower the interest on the debts thus providing some easing of the terms. But the Poles now know through their bitter experience that not every gift comes from God. Some donors offer a coin requiring in return such a "favorable status" that in the end it will prove to be much more costly.

The Polish media speak of the existing danger of "selling socialism" as well as a major part of the national wealth. If only the new partners were guided by a sincere wish to help without offering a "golden calf" in return for the social structure or other values. Meanwhile, a concept named "The East-West Fund" has been born in Vienna. According to this concept the Polish debt to Austria is to be covered by letting Austrian firms participate as owners in the work of Polish enterprises.

So, in the long run it appears that no one can solve the Poles' problems other than themselves; not even multimillion or multibillion dollar foreign aid.

Yugoslav Clash Typifies Ethnic 'Folly'

PM1001105590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Ye. Vostrukhov dispatch under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment": "Slovenia in the Grip of a Blockade"]

[Text] The current situation in the Slovenian Republic has, of course, nothing to do with military action, the direct blockade of its borders, or any other characteristics of a protracted siege. However, Yugoslav observers are frequently calling the situation in which many Slovenian enterprises have found themselves a state of emergency.

Not long before the New Year, the leadership of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, the republic's influential mass social organization, called on all collectives at enterprises, firms, associations, institutions, and establishments to suspend all economic, business, trade, and other links with Slovenia. Many of them have already answered this call by uncompromisingly breaking off relations. Large "rallies of people's support" were organized in many collectives. According to the Slovenian Assembly figures, over 100 large Serbian enterprises broke off business ties with their Slovenian partners by the end of December.

Why has the "blockade alarm" sounded all of a sudden in Serbia, a republic that has done so much to strengthen unity among the Yugoslav peoples and displayed particular anxiety about the future of the Yugoslav Federation? Furthermore, when last fall the Slovenian Assembly adopted constitutional amendments which contradicted the SFRY Constitution and threatened its unity, it was in Serbia that the first urgent appeals were made to all organizations to respect first and foremost the interests of the federal state in their activities.

At the same time it cannot be said that relations between these two republics have always developed without a hitch. The crisis phenomena that have struck Yugoslav society led, in addition, to the exacerbation of interethnic relations, to various clashes between the republics, particularly among the ruling circles, and to mutual accusations of isolation and disregard for common interests.

Serbia, for example, supposes that some Slovene leaders are misconstruing the political situation in Kosovo and that the working people of Slovenia do not know the whole truth about the reasons for the forcible expulsion of Serbs and Montenegrins from that autonomous province. That is why several Serbian social organizations, on the initiative of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, decided to organize "a rally of truth" one day last December in the capital of Slovenia, Ljubljana, and send their volunteers there. Soon, however, inhabitants of many towns and villages not just in Serbia, but also in Montenegro, expressed a desire to go to Ljubljana. Extra

trains, including some in which fares would not be charged, were being made ready to be dispatched to Slovenia.

While this joint preparation for the trip to the rally was going on, Slovenia clearly gave its organizers to understand that the arrival of thousands of southerners with "aims of enlightenment" was undesirable. Furthermore, they saw it as an attempt on the republic's autonomy and stated heatedly: "We have not given anyone permission to interfere in our internal affairs." The Slovenian Assembly, the Republic Presidium, and the Slovenian League of Communists Central Committee officially stated that the rally was undesirable. The Slovenes' stance only added fuel to the flames: "We are being forbidden to speak the truth about Kosovo," Serbia and Montenegro said, offended. "All the more reason to go!" Passions flared and then the Slovenian internal affairs secretariat announced that it had introduced emergency measures—a temporary ban on rallies and meetings in Ljubljana as well as transport restrictions on the republic's territory. It was reported that the militia was instructed to enforce social order and civil peace. Pickets of militia were posted everywhere on the roads at Slovenia's southern border...

At that point Serbia appealed to the population through all mass media sources not to travel to the rally, but instead, the appeal continued, to "teach Slovenia a lesson"—to organize an economic blockade on its enterprises.

Slovenia accepted the "challenge." In Ljubljana, the offices of Serbian firms closed as a deliberate protest, while in Belgrade stores Slovenian products were taken off the shelves. Ties between partners who had collaborated for decades were destroyed.

These dismal events caused serious alarm in other regions about the country's integrity and its future. "The Macedonian public is concerned about both the Slovenian leadership's measure and the Serbs' decision, the newspaper NOVA MAKEDONIJA writes. "Concern and fear have penetrated into the heart of every person who cherishes our fatherland. What political passions and interethnic folly lead to is well known from the past. It is time to ask the SFRY leaders if they are capable of controlling the situation in the country, and if they have the authority to put an end to the interrepublic disputes and unite all the sound forces and come out of the current crisis and uncertainty..."

The newspaper BORBA has called the breaking off of relations between the two leading republics a "political heart attack" in Yugoslavia. It carried out an efficient investigation of public opinion in the country on this conflict. The views of the majority of those polled coincided: A new threat, whose consequences are unforeseeable, is hanging over the federation. And the conflict must be resolved not by force but by means of patient talks between the two sides: If you live in the federation, you should know how to respect not just your own national interests, but the common state interests too.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium assessed the ban on the Ljubljana rally as a gross violation of human rights. It also condemned the unprecedented retaliatory measures taken by Serbia. The SFRY Presidium, the deputies to the country's assembly, and the Federal Executive Council (its government) have expressed serious concern in connection with recent events and have condemned the interrepublic clashes. However, the words of condemnation remain mere words. The government recently stated with sorrow that "the federation, on the basis of the existing constitution, was not able to take effective measures in a situation where the country, as a result of interethnic clashes, had reached the point of using weapons and destroying the single economic system." At this point the conclusion reached in Yugoslavia is that changes must be made to the SFRY Constitution in order to protect the federation.

Bloc Currency Exchange Problems Viewed

PM1001162190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by S. Chugayev: "Firm Does Not Guarantee; Are Difficulties Which have Arisen Recently for Travelers to East European Countries Inevitable?"]

[Text] Not so long ago a tourist trip by Soviet citizens to a fraternal socialist country was considered a quite pleasant and carefree business. But recently something has changed markedly. Back early last year groups returning home from Czechoslovakia and the GDR were obliged to leave many of their purchases at the border. While they had been traveling, governments had decided to add to the customs rules and to strictly observe existing rules. Unfortunately no one warned our tourists of the decision under preparation.

Then tourists traveling to Poland began to suffer. Frequent and unexpected devaluations of the zloty (since August last year alone the exchange rate of Poland's national currency has changed at least five times) have caused our citizens palpable material damage. Yu. Konyshev, a reader from Sochi, writes that, having changed R200 for traveler's checks in Moscow at one exchange rate, when he arrived in Poland he received, under the new exchange rate, a sum equivalent to R80.

With time it has become increasingly difficult for tourists to obtain the currency of the socialist countries. Bank institutions in regional centers with the right to work with currency have gradually ceased their exchange operations. In our country today there are about 500 of them. This has been explained by the fact that all money has been taken by those traveling to European socialist countries by invitation. They have the same rights as organized tourists. And tourists have been obliged to travel from all parts of the country to Moscow, to stand

in endless lines for the capital's bank for foreign economic activity bank departments. Exchange rates were steadily falling. At the end of the year tourists intending to travel to Hungary, for instance, were allowed to exchange just R10 each. Not long before that a number of East European countries ceased to exchange an additional R30 for Soviet citizens. Today many Soviet tourist groups travel to socialist countries without any money at all.

Unfortunately, for the time being no improvement should be expected in the situation with regard to the socialist countries' currency. V. Lyulchev, deputy chairman of the board of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, has explained that a protocol on trade exchange providing for currency quotas has so far been signed only with Czechoslovakia. But this protocol does not in fact define the quotas for currency. As of the second half of last year the currency of the socialist countries has had literally to be scraped together.

Perhaps our reader Yu. Konyshev will be reassured a little by the fact that he is not the only one to have been hit by the devaluation of the zloty. For instance, the bank for foreign economic activity lost about R5 million without any compensation from just one change in the exchange rate. Other Soviet banks have also incurred losses.

"The CEMA countries' market," V. Lyulchev explains, "is saturated with our transferable rubles. The partners agree to change them for their currency only on condition that there is an increase in deliveries of the goods they need, for instance, automobiles, or that we renounce imports.

"That means that for those Czech bags which are bought for us today at wholesale prices by Soviet trade organizations we shall have to pay retail prices in Czechoslovakia itself."

In the opinion of the deputy chairman of the board of the bank, the situation can be normalized only by two means. Either persuading our partners to consistently adhere to international agreements which provide, in particular, for compensation for losses connected with changes in the currency exchange rate or switching, within the CEMA system, to accounting in freely convertible currency. The second option looks preferable not only because it is advantageous to our country but also because in that case a real economic mechanism for regulating relations and consequently a reliable mechanism would be put into operation. But the transition to a freely convertible currency, the leadership of the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity believes, will requires several years.

Let us be frank, a trip abroad, including to the socialist countries, is still an event for our citizens. The trip is planned for at least several months. Leave is adjusted to fit it, money is put aside for exchanging, and other preparations are made. It is all the more annoying, on the eve of his trip, for a tourist to learn that he will be unable to bring home even a simple souvenir...

Yet the tourist does not travel abroad at his own risk. A tourist firm takes him under its protection. Receiving money from him, it undertakes to provide him with the greatest possible comfort. And that includes reporting changes taking place in the country where the client intends to go so that he can assess the expediency of his trip in good time. Well, if unforeseen circumstances have arisen, the firm, to all appearances, should make good the material and moral loss incurred by the tourist. Why does our foreign traveler receive none of this?

It emerged from a talk with L. Korsik, deputy chief of the USSR State Committee for International Tourism, that all the recent changes in the socialist countries under discussion were a complete surprise. Leonid Georgiyevich explained that in contrast to the West European countries, in the East European countries the state organs still do not pay proper attention to tourist firms and in particular do not notify them in good time of economic and financial changes. That is why both the foreign offices of "Inturist" and partner firms have no such up to date information. A quite recent conference of the socialist countries' tourist organizations in Plovdiv discussed the question of the need for such government information. Naturally, previously, at the time when political relations prevailed over economic relations, such questions simply did not arise.

Matters are no better with regard to compensation for so-called moral damage. That concept includes the unexpected cancellation of trips, a change in the currency exchange rate, an increase in prices, and so forth. In extreme cases (as was the case during the events in Romania) the cost of his trip will be returned to our tourist. L. Korsik explained to me that there is the Brussels convention on the protection of the tourist's rights. It stipulates that a tourist who is a citizen of a participating country has the right to take a tourist firm to court if in his opinion it has not fulfilled the commitments it has made. The court decides on compensation for moral damage (the sum can be twice the cost of the trip). Our country, like the other CEMA countries, has not yet signed this convention. All the recent unpleasantnesses and inconveniences have arisen for our tourists not because of the errors of tourist firms but as a side effect of government decisions aimed at economic recovery. And government decisions cannot be appealed against through legal channels.

We can only welcome the changes taking place today in the East European countries. And it is entirely natural and understandable that the transition to new relations between us, like any breakthrough, is accompanied by inevitable difficulties, by the emergence of sometimes unexpected problems. But against this background of historic changes we should obviously not forget that general problems have the most direct application to specific people. For instance, tourists. Incidentally, there are quite a lot of them. According to the information of

the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, in the forthcoming year it is expected that about 6 million of our fellow citizens will visit the European socialist countries—twice as many as last year. And many will inevitably encounter difficulties during their trips.

Perhaps we should all stay home until the situation is stabilized? Or is there another way out?

West Europe

Economic Cooperation Talks With Denmark End

LD1001193390 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The state and prospects for trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Denmark were discussed at the 18th session of the intergovernmental commission that concluded here today.

Commenting on the results of the session, Soviet co-chairman Vsevolod Vorontsov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, told TASS that special attention had been paid at the session to ways to increase and stabilise mutual trade, improve the commodity turnover structure and develop progressive forms of cooperation.

He noted that the volume of mutual trade increased by 25 percent in 1989 as against 1988, and amounted to nearly 280 million roubles. The share of machinery and equipment grew in Soviet exports to Denmark. Thus, the Soviet Union for the first time supplied Denmark with tankers, cars and agricultural machinery.

Plans envisage major projects of cooperation in the field of construction: Soviet organisations will help build a tunnel in Denmark. This is a new direction in Soviet-Danish economic relations. On the whole, mutual commodity turnover is expected to grow in 1990.

Vorontsov described the involvement of ever more Soviet enterprises as a positive component of bilateral relations. He said the Danish delegation had meetings at the governmental Foreign Economic Commission, the State Commission for Foodstuffs and Procurement, and the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, where members of the delegation familiarised themselves with the progress of reform of the Soviet foreign economic complex and the new opportunities for expanding cooperation at the enterprise level.

According to Vorontsov, a considerable contribution to the development of bilateral cooperation will be made by mutual personnel training in business manangement schools, agreed during the session.

Vorontsov said that today the Danish delegation was leaving for Leningrad where its members would visit some enterprises in the city and the region, hold talks on the development of trade with individual partners and familiarise themselves with the possibilities offered by the newly created free economic zone around Vyborg.

Mitterrand Proposes European Confederation

PM0901113990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 1, 7

[Vladimir Bolshakov dispatch under the "Abroad" rubric: "Options for Rapprochement"]

[Text] Paris, 6 Jan—French President F. Mitterrand's traditional New Year speech turned into a sensation, which was a surprise to many people. In his speech, the president suggested creating a confederation of all European states, including the Warsaw Pact states, before the end of this century. The actual idea of such an alliance does not seem new—even de Gaulle advocated a Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. However, scarcely anyone saw this slogan coined by the first president of the Fifth Republic as anything other than wishful thinking.

The word "confederation" which was voiced in Mitterrand's New Year message would also probably have been regarded by everyone in just the same way had it not been for the process of fundamental democratization in the USSR and other East European countries, which the president of France rated among the greatest events in world history.

Mitterrand did not describe his concept of the future European confederation in detail. However, he did name two typical conditions of the new European structure. The first was the strengthening of the "Common Market" structure in accordance with the decisions recently adopted in Strasbourg. The aim set there is an obvious one—to accelerate the integration of the 12 EEC countries. According to F. Mitterrand, Western Europe in 1992 should become an example for emulation, a unique "pole of attraction" for East European states. However, the president did not explain what they plan to do about mass unemployment in this Europe, or how to help the millions of people currently living below the poverty line.

The second condition follows on logically from the first. According to the president, bringing together the European states participating in the Helsinki process into a single confederation "will only be possible after the creation of a multiparty system, free elections, and freedom of information in the East (European—V.B.) countries." The president added that such radical changes in the political situation in the Warsaw Pact countries may happen quite quickly, bearing in mind the recent events.

The comments that followed this speech literally the next day, give some idea of how the West would like to see the confederation proposed by F. Mitterrand. Thus, J. Delors, chairman of the EC Commission, said that, in his opinion, the president had in mind the creation of a confederation of the following: the "Common Market"

countries, the European Free Trade Association [EFTA], which includes Austria, Iceland, Norway, Finland, Sweden, and Switzerland; as well as the European members of CEMA, including the USSR. Delors is proceeding from real facts. The recent talks between the "Common Market" and EFTA on the creation of "a single economic area" were successful and it is now clear that future cooperation between the association and a "united Europe" is definite. Working contacts between the EEC and CEMA are being laid down, but on a different basis than with EFTA. The "Common Market" leaders are stressing that there can be no question of integrating these two largest European economic groupings. And Delors too is proceeding on this basis.

Regarding relations between EEC countries and their partners in NATO, everyone has noticed that Delors did not mention the United States or Canada, which were participants in the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe. But it was the Helsinki process that Mitterrand pointed to in his speech about the creation of a European confederation.

Commentators on right-wing newspapers did not therefore fail to note that Delors' concept of a common European home is closer to the Soviet one than to the recent American "Baker Doctrine" on the politicization of the military blocs, which has been dubbed the "new Atlantism." But no one in Moscow has recently spoken against the United States' and Canada's participation in the process of European integration.

The idea of a confederation of European states does not cause any anxiety among politicians nearer the center. On the contrary. Jean Francois-Ponset, who was foreign minister in Giscard d'Estaing's time, believes that Mitterrand's idea will receive general support. Francois-Ponset saw his speech as a proposal to create a future common European home in two stages. The first would be the creation of a united Europe in 1992, and then the second would be the formation of a confederation of the 12 EEC countries, Central and East European countries, "and perhaps the United States."

Let us recall that at the recent French-U.S. summit meeting, F. Mitterrand displayed a discreet interest in the "Baker doctrine" which President George Bush had expounded to him. And he said in his New Year speech that the times of dependence on the "two superpowers" was a thing of the past for Europe. Of course his idea of a confederation takes into consideration both the "Baker Doctrine" and the Soviet idea of a common European home, but it does not copy either. Mitterrand is primarily proposing a non-bloc way, a path toward a unification of Old World countries which would enable them to become the great number one power, if not geographically, then economically and politically, in the framework of the future confederation, and make them capable of confronting both Japan and the United States and any union of states, in the tough competitive struggle at the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Is that not why the idea that the future united Europe is predestined to be a federation of states which are integrated not only economically, but also politically, is already being expressed with increasing frankness in France and in top European Commission organs?

LE MONDE writes that the president's idea of creating a confederation is rather an indicator of "intellectual openness with respect to the East, than a concrete project."

At a traditional New Year's meeting with journalists on 5 January this year, F. Mitterrand himself, incidentally, said on this subject that his task is "to point the way." And history will judge whether his project is correct or not. I think that it will not just be history that will judge, but also the heads of European states, possibly as early as this year.

LE MONDE, whose journalists are as a rule well informed about the moods of the president's entourage, notes that the shape of the future structure of Europe will be determined not in political leaders' speeches, including French leaders' speeches, but in the talks that these leaders will hold within the framework of the Helsinki process. That is what French diplomacy is now preparing for. We must not forget that F. Mitterrand was the first to support M.S. Gorbachev's proposal for the early convocation of an all-European summit conference in 1990 and that he proposed that it be held in Paris.

It was with this prospect in mind that leading political observers in Europe and the United States heard the French president's new initiatives put forward in his New Year speech. In addition to the idea of creating a confederation of European states, he also proposed that the West and the East jointly work out new approaches to problems of disarmament, economic collaboration, the future of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and so on. Obviously F. Mitterrand was not just expounding France's stance. This was also a kind of resume of discussions held in top European Community political circles in the past 6 months, while France was in the chair. At a meeting a few days ago with F. Mitterrand, FRG Chancellor Kohl called the former's proposal on the creation of a European confederation "sensible." This undoubtedly lends an all-European dimension to the French president's statements and emphasizes those trends in East-West relations that will affect the whole of world politics.

West Germans Seen Embracing 'Common Home' Idea

PM0901170390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Bovkun report: "FRG: Nostalgia for the Future"]

[Excerpt] Bonn—[Passage omitted] On the threshold of the new decade people are worried to a greater degree than before by cardinal questions of international politics, primarily connected with East-West relations. The chances for disarmament and cooperation have never

been, in the eyes of most of the population, so favorable as they are now. The ruling parties and the opposition are virtually united in their wishes for the success of the Vienna and Geneva talks, although they differ in their notions about the forms and limits of the FRG's contribution to this process. The proposals made by a group of Social Democrats (Bahr, Von Buelow, Voigt) on cutting conventional arms, which go beyond the framework of the Vienna meeting, deserve attention. They propose that conventional arms be cut in two stages by the year 2000, first by 25%, then by 50%.

The debates on the German question are entering a calmer phase. There are still fundamental disagreements on the assessments of the path to German unity, but the broad contact between the Germans of the FRG and the GDR and the symbolism of the opening of the Brandenburg Gate immediately pushed speculative-theoretical discussions into the background. Calls for the immediate unification of the two Germanies into a single state continue to be heard in the political lobbies. But the thesis "first Europe, then Germany" is increasingly spreading, providing the opportunity to bring the Germans' national feelings into line with Europe's realities and opportunities to overcome its split into blocs at odds with each other.

The European peaceful order identified in Bonn with the idea of the common home is awakening in the Germans a feeling which I would call "nostalgia for the future." I noticed this in conversations with industrialists and officers of the Bundeswehr, university teachers and housewives. Hopes for an early establishment of peaceful relations on the continent are frequently overshadowed by just one concern—for the fate of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. It is precisely with this that the FRG inhabitants are linking their hopes for the further strengthening of mutual understanding and cooperation on the continent.

The year 1990 will be a year of elections for the FRG—local, land, and federal. The political parties have begun the election struggle. But the choice has already been made by the country's population—a common home for everyone who signed the Final Act in Helsinki.

FRG Communist Party's Problems Discussed

PM1001125190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[V. Agayev dispatch: "Regrouping Along the Whole Front. Complex Problems Facing the German Communist Party"]

[Text] On New Year's eve UNSERE ZEIT, the newspaper of the German Communist Party [DKP], published the materials of the party leadership's 10th plenum. Its theme was precise: The development of events in the GDR and the crisis in the DKP. All newspapers reported the intention of Herbert Mies, the party chairman, to resign. It is true that the resignation of Mies, the entire party presidium, and the secretariat was not accepted: Of 54 plenum participants only 13 expressed themselves in favor of the immediate departure of the leadership. The opinion which prevailed was that although confidence in the party leaders had been lost, the resignation of the leadership would not in itself put an end to the crisis..

"An intensive debate has been under way within the DKP for years," Dirk Krueger, member of the DKP Presidium in charge of relations with the press, told me. "The struggle broke out 3 years ago, during the congress in Hamburg, and became very exacerbated in January 1989 at the congress in Frankfurt. Subsequently it intensified further. Since the Hamburg congress we have lost more than 20,000 members (party membership now totals some 35,000). The dramatic situation in the party demands the convocation of a new congress in order to renew the leadership."

Herbert Mies and his deputy, Ellen Weber, Dirk Krueger went on, have already declared that they will not stand in the elections. We must also adopt new party statutes. Changes will be made to the procedure of electing delegates. Their election will be more democratic. The number of members on the party's board will be reduced. The new leadership will also be elected in accordance with the new statutes. However, the most difficult struggle, judging by appearances, will be waged around the party program and policy questions. This is where the main contradiction lies. Without doubt the key question is our attitude to the development of events in socialist countries. The perestroyka launched in the Soviet Union has spread to socialist countries unevenly. It can even be claimed that in all the socialist countries perestroyka was brough about by the people. In many cases it was not initiated but only joined later by the leadership of the communist parties. This is one of our main problems. How are we to assess the events which are taking place? What consequences will they have for us? Some comrades are blaming the leadership for the DKP having been politically and materially dependent on the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. In other words for failing to act as an independent political force. It is possible to say that we had very close links with the SED. Including in material terms. These were an expression of international solidarity. This has come to an end now, and we have been forced to dismiss the party's entire paid staff. As of 1 January all our party workers are unpaid. And Herbert Mies, our acting party chairman, registered as unemployed a few days ago; that is to say, he is looking for a job.

Another question is: How are the policy statements of the new SED leadership to be assessed? Above all, their references to Kautsky and Bernstein, who have always been criticized as revisionists. In other words, there is a whole range of ideological and theoretical points which call for reflection. It is also necessary to work out who is to blame for the party not being materially independent in the past. Who is to blame for the fact that we did not become a serious political force in the FRG? And here begins another batch of problems which must also be

analyzed. What does the Communist Party represent today? The CPSU is saying: There is a whole series of problems of universal human interest—ecology, the struggle for peace, disarmament, and hunger and poverty in third world countries—whose solution brooks no delay. Communists must place these universal questions at the focus of their policy. This is understandable. But we live in a class society. Our party is a class party and we must define the correlation between universal human and class interests. A "movement" which has formed within the DKP takes the view that we should renounce the class essence of the party and devote ourselves more to global questions. However, the majority within the party is saying: Yes, this is important, it is necessary to elaborate new appraisals of these questions, but there is a fundamental contradiction here. Global questions can only be resolved in a joint effort.

At the same time we must not forget about the industrial monopolies which have engendered all these colossal problems. In short, it is necessary to continue to wage a class struggle within the FRG. We cannot simply copy the actions of the CPSU, which is the biggest socialist country's ruling party. The question of reforms and revolution is closely connected with this. The "movement" takes the view that the time has come for reforms. The majority concedes that reforms are of great importance, but they must be part and parcel of our revolutionary struggle for the creation of a socialist state system in our country. And this is where we enter into the debate on the nature of the party. If we place universal human values first and foremost, then we become a different party, much on the lines of the "Greens," and we cease to be the party of the working class. And there is one more question: The question of the monolithic nature of the party. We say "yes" to different opinions and approaches. They have always existed in our party, and it could not be otherwise. However, the "movement" has embarked on organizing its own structures, with their own finances and their own newspaper. Before the congress it held secret meetings about which the party subsequently learned only by accident. Today we are faced with a situation where the "movement" has one foot in the DKP, using its finances and structures, and the other outside the party. Thus it is possible to speak about a party within a party. The demand of the majority is this: pluralism of opinions, yes, but pluralism of organizations, no. That would be the death of the party. Neither the Social Democrats nor the Greens could permit themselves this.

Now the most prominent representatives of the "movement" have left the party. Some of them have associated themselves with the Social Democrats and some of them with the Greens, and some of them are forming Communist groups at local level. There is much that is confused and vague as yet. And even those who are concerned for the future of the party face colossal problems. Loss of membership spells bankruptcy. Our revenue now totals some DM22 million. It has been verified, just like all other parties' revenue, by independent auditors appointed by President Weizsaecker. Of late our revenue has been decreasing, the number of party members is diminishing, and old antifascists, who have donated substantial sums of money to the party in the past, are dying out. Since we are not part of the Bundestag, we do not receive government subsidies. In general we are having to switch to carrying out all party work on an unpaid basis. In principle this is nothing new, since in other countries this practice has existed for a long time. We had certain privileges, as it were, in the form of the SED support. We received this assistance from the GDR not in the form of money, but in the shape of rest homes and sanatoria for our members. They also sent concert ensembles here and takings from their performances went into our coffers. We also received expensive products for representation purposes. The SED organized DKP cadre training.

Our own means are not sufficient to pay DKP personnel. A reorganization of the apparatus is needed. However, this does not mean that we are going to shut up shop and go home. No. Commissions have been set up to draft new statutes and a new party program with a view to ensuring that by the summer we have a reorganized, renewed Marxist-Leninist Party. There is an acute need for an independent Communist Party in our country. In the FRG 6.5 million people (more than 10 percent of the population) live below the poverty line. There are around 3 million unemployed. There is a menacing shortage of cheap housing. The government reforms in the sphere of pensions and health care are fraught with many problems. All this proves the need for the existence of a proletarian Communist Party. We would like to rename the party. True, there are people who believe that it is necessary to disband the party and create a new one. However, the majority take the view that 20 years of struggle have proved the party's right to existence.

We have received many tokens of support. From the trade unions, "green" organizations, and the Social Democrats. They tell us: We are with you, we have had our differences, but for the sake of the struggle it is necessary to preserve the Communist Party. UNSERE ZEIT will now be published weekly, rather than daily. But it must be preserved. The trade unions, for instance, regard our newspaper as the workers' newspaper. It has been and must remain their source of information, and as such it is irreplaceable. We are receiving both moral and material tokens of solidarity. Now that the party is in such a difficult situation it is becoming obvious how much the country needs it.

Azerbaijan Prime Minister's Visit to Turkey

Signs Cultural Agreement

TA0901172590 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1640 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Ankara (A.A)—Turkey and the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan on Tuesday [9 January] signed an agreement to improve cultural relations between the two countries.

It was signed by visiting Azerbaijani Prime Minister Ayaz Niyazioglu Mutalibov and Culture Minister Namik Kemal Zeybek.

Mutalibov and Zeybek said cultural relations could greatly be improved by taking advantage of the fact that the two nations have a common language.

Turkey and Azerbaijan are expected to sign an economic agreement on Wednesday [10 January].

Signs Protocol

TA1001122590 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1100 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] A protocol has been signed between Turkey and the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] aimed at developing bilateral economic, commercial, and cultural relations. Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, has ended his contacts in Ankara.

The protocol envisions cooperation in the fields of industry, agriculture, construction, petroleum and petrochemicals, mining, and transportation. Also, the two sides agreed to sign an agreement on highway transportation.

In the field of culture, the protocol envisions the exchange of university lecturers and experts, the awarding of mutual scholarships, the organization of joint culture and art weeks, as well as fairs and exhibitions.

Finance and Customs Minister Ekrem Pakdemirli said that with this protocol, the two countries begin a new era in their relations. He pointed out that the volume of trade between Turkey and the Soviet Union has reached $1.2 billion, adding that this figure will grow further next year.

Ayaz Mutalibov expressed the belief that thanks to the Soviet Union's policy of perestroyka, relations will grow significantly.

In a statement to Turkish Radio and Television, Mutalibov said that he held very useful contacts in Ankara. He said his country is hopeful and optimistic about the development of border trade and economic relations with Turkey. This will be of great benefit both to my country and to Turkey, he said. Mutalibov also said that the Azerbaijan SSR attaches great importance to having joint investments with Turkey.

On the demonstrations held by his people along the borders with Iran and Turkey, Mutalibov said that certain demands by the people lie at the core of the incidents. He recalled that until recently, the Azerbaijani people refrained from reacting so exuberantly. He pointed out that the Azerbaijanis, and especially the people of Nakhichevan, want to use the the fertile land along the border. He stressed that international borders are delineated and protected by laws, and that any border changes in the area are out of the question.

Mutalibov will leave Turkey this afternoon.

Europarliament Official Visits, Holds Talks

LD1001193190 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 10 Jan 90

(Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Chairman of the Human Rights Subcommittee of the Europarliament's Political Affairs Committee Kenneth Coates visited Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation (SCESC).

Coates met SCESC Chairman Vadim Zagladin and Chairman of the subcommittee for humanitarian, scientific, and cultural relations of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs Fedor Burlatskiy.

The sides discussed possible cooperation between relevant subcommittees and, later, between the Europarliament and the USSR Supreme Soviet as a whole, in the light of advancement towards the creation of European legal space and a common European home.

Latin America & Caribbean

Further Commentary on Panama Invasion, Noriega

Canal Treaty Terms Viewed

PY1001113690 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Viktor Glazunov Commentary]

[Text] It is true that many details have been disclosed these past few days about General Noriega's voluntary surrender and his arrival in a U.S. court on charges of drug trafficking.

What matters now are the moral, political, and other principles that inspired the United States to conduct the illegal invasion of Panama. The community of nations has already expressed its opinion on the issue. The great majority of the delegates to the UN General Assembly have condemned the attack against a sovereign nation. There is no legal excuse for trampling over the Panamanian people's dignity.

General Colin Powell, commander in chief of the U.S. forces command, has arrived in Panama—according to Washington—to draw up a plan for the evacuation of the U.S. troops, which currently amount to some 26,000 men. The United States is not planning to reduce—not even by a single man—its troops stationed in the Panama Canal Zone. It has been said that their presence is necessary to defend the passageway between the two oceans, a passageway that is of vital importance to the United States.

According to the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, at the end of this century these troops must leave the Canal Zone. According to the treaties, once the Canal is placed under Panama's jurisdiction it must be protected and defended by Panamanian forces. These forces, however, were dissolved during the U.S. military actions and the new Panamanian Government has stated that they will not be reorganized.

It seems that this was one of Washington's main objectives. They needed to get rid of Noriega to be able to dissolve the Panamanian National Defense Forces and then impose on the new Panamanian authorities an amendment of the Canal Treaties that will allow the perpetuation of U.S. military presence in the zone.

Everyone is aware of the strategic position of the U.S. military bases in the Canal Zone. Maintaining these bases will allow the Pentagon to influence the development of political and social events in Latin America.

Taking into account that the situation in Central American continues to be tense, a possible U.S. intervention is not mere rhetoric.

Right from the beginning the Soviet Union condemned the U.S. intervention in Panama. Our position continues unchanged: the invaders must immediately leave Panama and leave the Panamanian people to solve their own problems.

Doubts About Case Against Noriega

PM0901161790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 90 Second Edition pp 1,7

[Report by own correspondent V. Gan: "Sobering Up After the Euphoria"]

[Text] Washington, 6 Jan—Having banished General Noriega to a cell under the strictest supervision, the Washington Administration is now trying to strengthen the rickety legal foundation of the "case" against the overthrown and arrested Panamanian leader.

No easy task, because despite the euphoria, you increasingly hear people expressing doubts about the legality of U.S. actions. It is not only Noriega and his defense who reject the jurisdiction of the U.S. court, claiming that it has no right to judge the head of a foreign state captured as a "political prisoner" during an illegal invasion. It is not only such organizations as the Center for the Defense of Human Rights that calls the detention of the general a "patent violation of international laws." According to ABC Television, even in the Administration "there are questions about the legal basis of the invasion and the arrest of Noriega." Government lawyers, the television company noted, are privately "saying that the United States is operating at the very limit of international laws."

In an obvious attempt to keep the initiative and neutralize the international impact, U.S. President Bush held a news conference in the White House today at which he tried to demonstrate the validity of Washington's actions. Reporting on his meeting with U.S. Attorney General R. Thornburgh to discuss matters connected with the trial, Bush said, in particular: We are dedicated to the cause of ensuring a fair trial and all the rights guaranteed by the constitution and U.S. laws.

The President ruled out the possibility of any deal with Noriega, stressing that the U.S. aim remains the same—to bring him to trial. Evidently to make it sound more convincing, the White House incumbent said that in the future he would not comment on any aspects of the trial or questions that could even indirectly affect it.

Having promised to withdraw the U.S. invasion force from Panama as soon as possible, Bush admitted that he was "to some extent" worried by the Latin American countries' reaction to the Panamanian operation. As has been reported already, the majority of Latin American states criticized this "show of force," calling it an "abuse of sovereignty." It follows from the President's words, however, that Washington by and large does not intend to take their criticism seriously.

Bush announced that in the next few weeks Vice President Quayle will be touring some Latin American countries on his behalf, in order to "explain not only U.S. policy, but also our aspirations in terms of Panama and the entire hemisphere."

The President was asked: Doesn't the invasion of Panama mark a return to the old U.S. policy of armed interference in other countries' affairs to solve regional and bilateral disputes? And no wonder. According to press estimates, the latest U.S. intervention to overthrow a government it did not like is the 11th this century. U.S. experts are currently debating whether the latest adventure should be regarded as an indication of Washington's intention to revive America's world "gendarme" role. U.S. spokesmen obviously give a negative answer, referring to the "unique Panamanian situation." Nevertheless, you sense in U.S. political circles a degree of concern, which was reflected by R. Celeste, governor of Ohio: "I am alarmed," he said, "by the use of military force at a time when all over the hemisphere and even more so in Eastern Europe, profound changes are taking place and are being carried out by civilian means. Is this the right time for military force?"

U.S. Action Doubtful

PY1001141090 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2100 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Mikhail Mayorov Commentary]

[Text] There seems to be something fishy about the entire story. General Noriega has been charged with helping Colombian drug traffickers to ship three tons of cocaine to the United States. It has been asserted that he received more than $4.5 for this operation. All this may be true. Obviously nobody would want to defend

someone who has contributed to the evil that plagues the world. There is no doubt that this scourge of our times should be fought.

However, I do not think that just any action can be employed to achieve this noble cause.

The United States attacked a sovereign country just to extradite Noriega. The U.S. intervention caused the deaths of hundreds of peaceful Panamanians. Tin coffins with the bodies of some 20 U.S. citizens were shipped the United States. According to some experts, the attack caused Panama a daily loss of $2 billion.

Regardless of the developments in Panama, it is obvious that the foreign intervention has given that country a serious wound that will continue to bleed for a long time.

The U.S. military invasion of Panama took place just as eastern European countries said goodbye to the so-called Brezhnev doctrine. There will be no more military intervention in the domestic affairs of eastern European countries. However, the Panamanian case shows that the opposite is happening in the western hemisphere.

A spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry declared in Moscow that the entire U.S. operation in Panama represents a violation of the UN Charter. The U.S. was far from acting in the most appropriate way.

Panama Invasion Shows Bush's Action, Words Differ

PM1001130190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Bovin commentary under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Hypocrisy"]

[Text] Conceit born of strength and a scornful attitude to non-U.S. public opinion have always been characteristic of U.S. foreign policy. Theodore Roosevelt's words, "I have taken Panama," are a case in point.

One would have thought that the end of the "cold war," the beginning of a period of trust in Soviet-U.S. relations, and mutual agreement that interference in others' internal affairs and instilling order in other countries are both intolerable and unlawful must put an end to cowboy-style bravado and arbitrary action in the world arena.

But it seems that this is not the case.... The things that George Bush said a month ago in Malta differ strikingly from the things he is doing in Panama.

I can well understand a president who has absolutely no sympathy either for General Noriega or for his regime.... But why go overboard? We are, after all, at the end of the 20th century. Or must every president have his Panama or his Grenada? As evidence of U.S. resolve, so to speak.

Let us compare the statements and the facts.

After Noriega had surrendered to the U.S. authorities and had been arrested by a representative of the Drug Enforcement Administration, the U.S. President said: "On Wednesday, 20 December, I ordered U.S. forces to go to Panama to achieve four objectives: to protect the lives of U.S. citizens; to help restore democracy; to guarantee compliance with the treaties on the Panama Canal; and to bring General Manuel Noriega to justice. All these objectives have now been achieved."

Well then.

1. To protect the lives of U.S. citizens. This is an argument in principle. There are some 35,000 Americans in Panama. And if they were endangered, the President had to act. But what exactly posed a threat to them?

The Americans cite the fact that on 16 December Panamanian military servicemen shot a U.S. Marine lieutenant. The Panamanians claim that the lieutenant refused to stop his car at a checkpoint and that people sitting in the car opened fire on the building which housed Noriega's staff headquarters.

The Americans add that the Panamanians "intimidated" some naval lieutenant and his wife.

There is more. I quote U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker: "After the President had made his decision, we received intelligence information that General Noriega was considering the possibility of carrying out an attack on U.S. citizens in a residential quarter using forces in the city's commando subunits. I cannot prove to you that this information was absolutely reliable, but I do know that, if the President had not taken the step he did and Noriega's so-called 'dignity battalions' had killed or terrorized a dozen U.S. families in Panama, you would be asking us today: 'Why did you do nothing to prevent this kind of violence against our citizens?'" In order to avoid this unpleasant question, the U.S. President sent 23 U.S. servicemen to their deaths; another 323 occupationists were wounded. And these people were not killed or wounded for the sake of saving other Americans. They were placed in the firing line by the President's imperial ambitions and his willingness to place personal dislike above U.S. state interests.

2. To help restore democracy. It cannot be denied that this is a good aim and a noble end. But surely history has endeavored to prove—indeed, has proved—that the end does not justify the means. Every nation—and that nation alone—is free to decide its own destiny. Restoring democracy in Panama is the task of the Panamanians and not of U.S. soldiers. "Claims that we invaded Panama with the aim of 'restoring democracy' are ludicrous," E. Carroll, retired rear admiral and one of the leaders of the Center for Defense Information, stressed. "That country, created by the United States, has never had a democratic government, and we have simply restored a pro-U.S. government under which the new U.S. ambassador will be like a Roman consul directing the columns." If you bear in mind that the Roman provinces were run by proconsuls rather than consuls, you can agree with the rest.

3. To guarantee compliance with the Panama Canal Treaty. Roughly the following construction was built in order to justify this theory: On 15 December, Noriega said that Panama was in "a state of war" with the United States; if there is war, the canal is under threat, and, according to Article IV of the canal treaty, the United States has the right to defend the canal. J. Baker put it more simply: "We foresaw the possibility of problems with the canal...." Foresaw, and that is all there is to it!

I will quote the opinion of a competent person. According to A. Rubin, a professor of international law at Taft University, claims that the change of government in Panama was designed to "preserve the inviolability of treaties on the Panama Canal" are totally ridiculous. This claim could only be made by a person completely unfamiliar with the content of the treaties, which enshrine the principles of noninterference and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Rubin writes that claims that Panama declared war on the United States first are also totally without foundation. In this particular case, it is a question of a resolution passed by the Panamanian parliament on 15 December "declaring the Republic of Panama to be in a state of war," which, under Panamanian laws, is equivalent to what in English is known as "a state of emergency." This resolution did indeed give General Noriega dictatorial power but did not represent a threat to the United States. It is also clear to any specialist that, by carrying out an armed attack on Panama, Washington was breaking the basic principles and tenets of a whole series of international documents which bear the signatures of U.S. Presidents.

4. To bring General Noriega to justice. I do not know about that. Perhaps the general is a criminal and perhaps he is not. What I do know for sure is that the United States has no legal justification for sending troops into another state to hunt down criminals there. It is much simpler than that. And much more cynical. The White House sent in its troops in order to be rid of a political leader not to the President's liking.

So, what kind of picture do we have? The U.S. President has given four motives for the intervention. Two of them (the threat to U.S. lives and the threat to the canal) are not borne out by fact, while the other two (the restoration of democracy and Noriega's arrest) are on the wrong side of international law. The action which Senator E. Kennedy has been overhasty in describing as "a triumph of diplomacy and legality" should have been called a triumph of force and arbitrary rule.

And how did the occupationists conduct themselves in the territory they seized? As they are used to do: with complete disregard for the law. Typical in this respect is the way U.S. soldiers seized the Nicaraguan ambassador's residence in Panama City. The Americans say that there was an arms cache there. And they have scrupulously itemized what they found: 4 Israeli "Uzi" submachineguns, 12 of our "Kalashnikovs," 10 rifles, 1 shotgun, 1 M-1 carbine, 6 grenade launchers, 27 grenades for them, 1 lightweight antitank system, 3 hand grenades, and some 1,300 cartridges of various calibers.

Well, let us suppose that there were another 5 shotguns and 10 "Kalashnikovs." One asks, what has this got to do with the Americans? Who gave them the right to search the building?

A spokesman for the State Department put it like this: "A final judgment on the status of this house and grounds and its inhabitants was made only after the search had been carried out. When the diplomatic status of the house and grounds and its inhabitants had been established, the commander of the subunit received instructions to return the weapons." In short, first cut the cloth, then measure it. "They made a small blunder," the President sighed.

In response to this, the Nicaraguan Government expelled 20 U.S. diplomats from the country and demanded that the U.S. Embassy staff be cut from 320 to 100 personnel. The Americans were indignant. Meanwhile, the Southern Command was very obviously impeding the work of the Nicaraguan, Cuban, and Libyan embassies.

Unfortunately, all this is familiar. The Americans revel in strength and power in what they see as their "backyard." "The fact that we have demonstrated an arrogance perhaps comparable only to the arrogance of the 13th Century Crusaders," N. Carter, executive director of the "Sane Freeze" social organization, said at a news conference, "will have the most serious consequences. The United States has interfered in the affairs of a sovereign country, thereby violating elementary norms of international law and all the international treaties with a bearing on this concept. It is simply impossible to imagine the price that will have to be paid for this stupidity."

But this is what I think: Perhaps we should say "thank you" to President Bush. Thank you for showing us and the whole world just how the White House interprets detente, nonaggression, and the democratization of international relations.

We cannot choose our partners. They are given to us by politics and fate. We will hold talks with Bush and we will, if possible, reach agreements with him.

But we will not forget that his foreign policy arsenal includes not only Malta but Panama as well.

Realism is never a bad thing.

Regional Fears of U.S. Intervention Seen Justified

PY1101021990 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0030 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Analyst Aleksey Pavlov commentary]

[Text] On 9 January 1964, U.S. troops shot at a group of demonstrating Panamanian students. Panama since then has commemorated that date as a day of defense of national sovereignty, honoring the victims of the struggle for national liberation. We have a commentary by analyst Aleksey Pavlov:

The Panamanian people commemorated 9 January this year under occupation by the same Yankees. On 20 December 1989—on the eve of Christmas—Washington sent its hordes to Panama with the excuse of restoring democracy in that country, arresting General Manuel Antonio Noriega, protecting the lives of U.S. citizens, and preserving the Panama Canal treaties.

Bush said a few days ago that all the objectives of the invasion were accomplished and that the troops would return home. However, can we consider this vandalism finished? Several people in Yankeeland are likely to be wondering about it [words indistinct].

The implications of the foreign military operation have gone beyond the framework of bilateral relations; it has had, so to speak, international repercussions.

The international public has rejected the Yankee position. The opinion of the vast majority of people all over the world is that the U.S. action violated international law and that, as the Soviet Government stated, it was an clearly arbitrary international action.

Without a doubt, the objective of the Pentagon's outrage was by no means the controversial figure of Noriega, but the Pentagon's geopolitical interest in keeping the canal in its claws, like a Yankee fortress in Latin America's heart, at a crucial point for international navigation routes very close to the conflictive Panamanian region.

In the past couple of years, relations between Central American nations have improved. Washington, however, suddenly resorted to all of its means, among them the use of force, to defend its interests. This action resonated like a bomb on the improved political atmosphere of the region.

It is doubtful that such an imperialistic measure will help to ease international tension in a world that has adopted new political criteria.

Political analysts now believe that not a single Latin American country, where Yankees are accustomed to carrying out their lordly banditry, can be sure that it will not become the target of a U.S. military intervention. These fears are totally justified considering the shameless behavior of the undisciplined foreign soldiers in Panama, where not only patriots but also diplomats are being persecuted. We can point out as an example the fact that, on 29 December, the undisciplined U.S. soldiers stormed the residence of the Nicaraguan ambassador and isolated the nuncio's residence. Yesterday they surrounded the residence of the Peruvian ambassador.

(?Can we expect anything better now?) I would like to ask a question: Couldn't the same thing happen in another country that the Yankees consider to be within their vital interests?

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Prepares for Mid-February Session

LD1001071390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0541 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS)—TASS parliamentary correspondent writes:

The committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the standing commissions of both its chambers—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—have set about the work of preparing for the third session of parliament, which, it is supposed, will begin work in the middle of February.

Today, the committee of the Supreme Soviet Presidium will hold a session on the preliminary generalization of the remarks and proposals expressed by citizens of the country on the draft law on land. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Land Legislation Commission Meets

LD1001151190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] A session of the working commission on the draft of the country's land legislation began in the USSR Supreme Soviet this morning. An analysis of suggestions and comments which came up during the discussion of the document is under way.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Begins Visit to Lithuania

Political Atmosphere in Lithuania

LD1001172890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1546 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 10 (TASS)—TASS special correspondent reports:

Today, on the eve of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania, a many thousand-strong meeting in support of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania [CPLi], which called for the independent status of the republic's party organization and its separation from the CPSU, has taken place on the central square in Vilnius. Calls for full state independence for Lithuania were also heard at the meeting.

The atmosphere at the meeting reflects the public mood prevalent in this Baltic republic at present. However, other views are also being expressed in the debate developing over the problems of independence of the Communist Party, and their adherents have strong positions in a number of rayons, industrial centers, and major enterprises.

Workers and employees of the Zalgiris construction works in Vilnius, which was visited by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who has arrived in Lithuania, reproached the leaders of the CPLi for the fact that the mass media is covering the problems of the national minorities in tendentious manner. They believe that the republic was too hasty in adopting the law declaring Lithuanian the state language, and the law on citizenship. People are indignant at the attacks on soldiers of the Soviet Army who have been disciplined in Lithuania. In the words of participants in the meeting, many communists at the works disagree with the decisions of the 20th CPLi congress.

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the CPLi Central Committee, is convinced of the correctness of the party congress decisions and continues to defend his point of view at meetings with the public. In his words, the difficult economic situation in the country and the low living standard of the people make it imperative to search for new paths. We must wait no longer, he declared at a meeting with working people of the Lithuanian capital. He spoke in support of partnership relations with the CPSU and of a new form of Soviet federation. "We are not dissociating ourselves from anyone, we are merely seeking new ways of cooperating," the first secretary of the CPLi Central Committee stressed.

"The CPLi within the CPSU will exist because it has social, political, and ideological roots," said Mikolas Burokyavichus, secretary of the Provisional Central Committee (on the platform of the CPSU). "We do not agree with the view that Lithuania was occupied in 1940. Revolutionary processes were under way in Lithuania, therefore the establishment of Soviet power in Lithuania and its entry into the USSR are legal acts. The communists who have remained in our party declare that Lithuania today is a sovereign socialist state, as is written in the USSR Constitution. But this sovereignty should become more real."

The Council of the "Sajudis" Front, in an appeal to the people of Lithuania published today, called for peaceful demonstrations for "freedom and independence for Lithuania", to be held during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit.

Preparations for Welcome

LD1101110290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpts] It is known that the demonstration in Vilnius, called the rally of the Lithuanian people, has provoked a response beyond the borders of Lithuania. A similar action is planned in Riga at the Monument of Independence. Lithuanians residing in Washington and its environs intend to assemble at the Soviet Embassy at 1000 local time. It is reported from Canada that Lithuanians will assemble in the churches of their parishes at 0700, in the evening. [passage omitted].

Meanwhile a number of prominent arts and science figures issued a statement urging society to accord an

especially respectable welcome to Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. The authors of the statement say that various political forces urge welcoming the famous guest in different ways, varying from the slogan "Overtake [word indistinct]" to the idea of welcoming him with empty streets. The authors of the statement stress that the Lithuanians have their own traditions of hospitality, where attention and respect to guests are greater values than parade smartness or demonstrative [word indistinct]. This should not be forgotten. People should also bear in mind that Mikhail Gorbachev's visit is an act of world politics and not a meeting in a discussion club or a verbal contest. Therefore, people should refrain from rash steps, rudeness, and insulting attacks. Our friendly, tactful, cultured, and dignified behaviour should become a moral argument proving that our nation is ready to achieve its greatest aims and is worthy of realizing its most beautiful hopes for the future.

This statement is signed by Romas Gudaitis, Stasys Kasauskas, Bronius Kuzmickas, Jaonas Mikelinskas, Jokubas Minkevicus, Juras Pozela, Edvardas Vilkas, and others, 14 in all.

Preview of Activities

LD1101014490 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT10 Jan 90

[Text] According to the latest information Mikhail Gorbachev is arriving in Vilnius tomorrow before noon. First flowers will be laid at the foot of the monument to Lenin. Tomorrow Mikhail Gorbachev is also expected to visit the Vilnius fuel injection equipment plant and in the evening he will meet representatives of the intellectuals. The day after tomorrow Mikhail Gorbachev and the other officials are expected in the north Lithuanian city of Siauli.

Sajudis Leader Comments

LD1101005790 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Today Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Seimas Council of the reform movement Sajudis, spoke at a press conference given to Lithuanian and foreign journalists. Here are its key points.

In the opening address Professor Landsbergis said this week might go down in the recent history of Lithuania, which he described as rebirth of the Lithuanian people and ethnic minorities of Lithuania permeated with one dominant feature: To restore Lithuanian statehood. Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania might mean a turning point in relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. Vytautas Landsbergis:

[Begin Landsbergis recording in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] The leader of one of the greatest powers is coming tomorrow to Lithuania. To his entourage and perhaps to him it may look like a tour of his country. Meanwhile we think we present [as heard] the state and sovereignty of which was violated in 1940 and the historical task facing both us and the Soviet Union and the democratic world in general is to resotre justice and the Lithuanian state sovereignty. For us Mikhail Gorbachiv is the leader of the neighboring state. Previously the Soviet leadership presented the issue of Lithuania as its domestic problem. The world was misled though there is growing awareness that the Baltic issue is an international problem. [end recording]

The jorunalists were equally interested in the issues relating to Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania and the general situation prevailing in the republic. The Sajudis leader was asked what he thought about the referendum on whether to allow or not the military to participate in the elections to parliament and the bodies of local power. Professor Landsbergis replied that attempts had been made in Moscow to raise the issue of withdrawing the occupation of Soviet Army from Lithuania during a meeting with high placed officials but the latter declined to discuss it. The military temporarily serving in Lithuania should not be given the right to vote. Asked by a reporter of the CHICAGO TRIBUNE whether developments in Lithuania posed any threat and were fraught with destabilizing the situation in the Soviet Union and the world in general Vytautas Landsbergis replied:

[Begin Landsbergis recording in Lithuanian with superimposed English translation] On may occasions while on foreign trips I asked my audience to reedit terminology and instead of destabilization use the term destalinization. And (?they're) to come to think whether it was dangerous or hazardous to anybody. Destalinization in the Soviet Union did not occur, and it was Mikhail Gorbachev who shattered the huge, stagnant, and extremely conservative state. [end recording]

At the end of the press conference the journalists were invited to attend another news conference to be held tomorrow by the Seimas Council members of the Sajudis movement.

Gorbachev Leaves for Lithuania

LD1101081190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0758 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, left Moscow for Lithuania today. His visit is being made in accordance with a resolution of the December (1989) CPSU Central Committee plenum, which discussed matters connected with the decisions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of this Soviet Baltic republic. As has been reported, the Congress, which took place at the end of December last year, advocated independent status of the Communist Party of Lithuania and its secession from the CPSU.

Arrives in Vilnius

LD1101095390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] While our live relay [from Chelyabinsk] was in progress they have just brought me a TASS report. I shall acquaint you with it.

CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrived in the capital of the Lithuania SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] today.

At Vilnius Airport he was met by: CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member and CPSU Central Committee Secretary Medvedev; CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman and USSR State Planning Committee Chairman Maslyukov; Lithuanian CP [Communist Party] Central Committee First Secretary Brazauskas; Lithuanian CP Central Commitee Secretary, on the Platform of the CPSU, Burokevicius; the Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Astrauskas; and Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman Sakalauskas.

The residents of Vilnius warmly welcomed the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and head of the Soviet state, who had arrived on Lithuanian land. CPSU Central Committee secretary and PRAVDA newspaper editor-in-chief Frolov arrived in Vilnius together with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Visits Lenin Monument

LD1101105690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 11 Jan 90

[From the "News About Lithuania" program, presented by Jurate Valanciute]

[Excerpts] Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania has already started. The plane which brought the most esteemed visitor and his entourage landed at 1020 at Vilnius Airport.

On the way from the airport Mikhail Gorbachev was warmly greeted by the residents of Vilnius and his first meetings with people of his 3-day visit have already begun in the streets after he arrived into the city.

The esteemed visitor's first act was to pay tribute to Vladimir Lenin. Flowers were laid at the monument to V. Lenin in the center of the capital city.

At the moment, while you are listening to our program, M. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet, after the walk about in Lenin Square and talking to people, will visit the Vilnius Fuel Injection Equipment Plant.

After lunch the esteemed visitor is expected at the Vilnius City Party Committee, and after that a meeting with the creative intelligentsia is planned at the Press Palace.

Of course, reports on all these events will be given a more detailed account on our later programs.

Speaks With Vilnius Residents

LD1101104190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius, 11 Jan (TASS)—TASS special correspondents' report.

Immediately on arrival in the capital of the Lithuanian SSR, Mikhail Gorbachev went to the central square in Vilnius and laid flowers at the statue of Lenin. The city's residents gathered on the square greeted him warmly. In conversations which arose, people told Mikhail Gorbachev of their support for the reforms being implemented in the country. They expressed satisfaction with the decision of the December plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to instruct a group of plenum participants to visit Lithuania to study the situation on the spot and to try to understand what concerns the republic's workers today.

The conversations between Mikhail Gorbachev and the inhabitants of Vilnius in the city's central square, where Mikhail Gorbachev laid flowers at the Lenin Monument, lasted more than 1 hour. Then he set off for one of the districts of the capital, where the fuel equipment works is located. The output of this enterprise is known and awaited at many tractor production lines around the country. A multinational collective works here: 30% are Poles, 29% Lithuanian, 20% Russian, and there are many Belorussians and representatives of other nationalities. All are equally troubled about the affairs of their enterprise and the difficult situation which has arisen in Lithuania.

At noon there were conversations between Mikhail Gorbachev and the workers and administrative staff of the works in the workshops, and then a meeting with representatives of the labor collective in the works' club.

Denies 'Two-Faced Policy'

LD1101123390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] As you know, comrades, from our previus reports, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived in Vilnius today. Our special correspondent Ludmila Semina reports from the capital of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic:

[Semina] [passage omitted: Quotes from morning editions of Lithuanian press - "Lithuania Waits", "Lithuania Hopes", Gorbachev given a warm welcome] The

party and state leader laid flowers at the monument to Lenin in the center of Vilnius, and it is here that the first conversations took place with the inhabitants—a very passionate and emotional dialogue about the fate of perestroyka, about the state of affairs in our federation, about freedom of thought and how that freedom can be understood. Mikhail Sergeyevich said that freedom needs to be understood as the need to take each other into consideration. That is how it ought to be in politics [politike]. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev vividly rejected reproaches over the two-faced nature of his policy: I do not have two-faced thoughts, a two-faced policy; I have one truth—for me and for everybody. [passage omitted: Just beginning; re-cap on known agenda; massive interest in the visit; Vilnius packed with journalists from all over the world] The visit has begun. The visit is continuing.

[Announcer] As has just been reported by special TASS correspondents from Vilnius, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has visited one of the rayons of the capital where a fuel apparatus works is located. [passage omitted] At midday, conversations took place between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the works' blue-and white-collar workers in the workshops, and then there were meetings with representatives of the labor collective in the works' club.

Speaks About Party Plans

LD1101172590 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius January 11 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

The idea that it is the modernisation of the Soviet federation, rather than the disruption of cultural, human, economic, political and other ties, that leads to the success of perestroyka keynoted today's conversations between Mikhail Gorbachev and Vilnius residents on streets in the Lithuanian capital.

The head of the Soviet Communist Party and the state is on a visit to this Baltic republic in keeping with a resolution of the December (1989) plenary meeting of the party Central Committee.

Speaking at an improvised rally with city residents, Gorbachev stressed the need for creating a totally different federation that would fully guarantee a political and economic sovereignty of its integral parts.

In his view, this would lend a great impetus to the development of the peoples since the federation presupposes cooperation with reliance of the Soviet Union's immense resources and the cultural and educational level of its peoples, rather than a mechanical combination of forces.

At the start of building this federation, Gorbachev called for overcoming misunderstanding and uncertainty and not to lose faith in the possibility of coming to agreement among peoples.

The peoples should remake the union, rather than secede from it, he remarked. The union should be remade in a way that each people become the master and cooperate on an equal footing with other peoples.

The president observed that in the face of the mounting processes of decentralisation in the vast country, the Soviet Communist Party should be the rallying political force concentrating the entire intellectual, theoretical potential.

But its activity should be rethought, Gorbachev said. The question of the independence of the republican communist parties within the Soviet Communist Party should be raised in a new way. This will be one of the central issues at the forthcoming party congress. The party Central Committee will examine a corresponding programme-setting document at its forthcoming meeting in January.

Confronts Demonstrators

AU1101164790 Paris AFP in English 1618 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Stephane Bentura report]

[Excerpts] Vilnius, Lithuania, Jan 11 (AFP)—Some 300,000 people demanding a free Lithuania protested in the streets here Thursday shortly after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told crowds their calls for independence were "not serious."

The demonstrators, whose numbers were estimated by organizers, chanted "Freedom, Freedom! Lithuania shall be free!" while Mr. Gorbachev was meeting with local communist party officials and Lithuanian intellectuals in a building three kilometers (1.5 miles) away.

Tens of thousands of protesters held candles and others waved Lithuanian national flags along with the flags of Estonia and Latvia, the two other Baltic republics annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940, an AFP reporter in Vilnius said.

"Some people doubt that Lithuania should be part of the Soviet Union. That is not serious. We have lived together for 50 years," Mr. Gorbachev told crowds who gathered to watch him lay a wreath at Lenin Square, which had been sealed off.

"It is very difficult to distinguish people from each other. In every republic and in every city, representatives of all nationalities live together," Mr. Gorbachev said.

Mr. Gorbachev spent an hour at Lenin Square talking to the people who broke through crowd barriers.

Sajudis leader Vitautas Lansbergis said that the rally aimed to "make Mr. Gorbachev and the Central Committee understand that Lithuania is in the same case as Eastern Europe" which has been allowed to break free from Moscow-inspired Communist Party rule.

Mr. Lansbergis said Lithuanians would welcome Mr. Gorbachev as the leader of a "large neighbouring country".

A church service for "free Lithuania" was to be held at the Roman Catholic cathedral later in the day.

Lithuania, independent between the two world wars, was annexed by Moscow along with neighbouring Latvia and Estonia in 1940.

Nationalists from other republics interviewed by AFP pointed out that the Lithuanian nationalist movement was more advanced than in other parts of the Soviet Union such as Ukraine and Azerbaijan.

But one Moscow-based activist, Ukrainian Anatoli Dotsenko, said the Lithuanians were "a model that we will use in a few years time".

Brazauskas Makes TV Speech on Gorbachev Visit Eve

LD1101004690 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] First secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, addressed the public on Lithuanian Television tonight. He pointed out that the variety of opinions which is revealed during the meetings with the visiting officials is characteristic today not only of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Meanwhile, it's clear that most people in Lithuania back up the decision of the Lithuanian Communist Party. I believe, Algirdas Brazauskas said, that the guests from Moscow now understand this themselves.

The Lithuanian people have now a good opportunity to show Mikhail Gorbachev the Lithuanian wisdom and Baltic dignity. The whole world acknowledges Mikhail Gorbachev as one of the most outstanding political figures of the current epoch, but we all in Lithuania perceive the immense difficulties the country is facing, especially in the socioeconomic sphere. History ruled it so that Lithuania's Communists found themselves in the very center of events. That's why we are to demonstrate political wisdom. The Lithuanian Communist Party by no means intends to decide the destiny of Lithuania on its own, but history has placed it in the vanguard of the present developments with a substantial political weight so it has (?used) this weight for the benifit of Lithuania's interests.

Algirdas Brazauskas expressed the hope that tomorrow's manifestation in Vilnius would be a noble action expressing the will of the Lithuanian nation. We must understand that Mikhail Gorbachev is the most influential ally of Lithuania's hopes and ambitions. The importance of his visit will be assessed by history, but we shall be able to feel its consequences if we are united and mature politically in the very nearest future, Algirdas Brazauskas said.

Sajudis 10 Jan Rally in Vilnius Detailed

LD1001183290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1500 GMT on 10 January carries a 20-minute recorded report on a rally organized by the Vilnius Sajudis Council which started at 1100 GMT on 10 January in Cathedral Square in Vilnius.

The unidentified announcer begins by describing some of the posters which are being carried by demonstrators. He reads out three slogans: "Long Live Free Lithuania and Free Russia," "The Lithuanian Communist Party—Yes, Bolshevism—No," "Lenin Recognized Lithuania, Stalin Took Away Freedom, and Gorbachev...?" Various speakers address the crowd from the rostrum.

The first person to give his views is Professor Aloizas Sakalas, chairman of the Vilnius Sajudis Council. He says among other things: "We have already told the whole world that we want to be free and independent as we were until the 1940 occupation. The central press has described this as our intention and called the parliamentary path toward independence simply attacks by a handful of extremists. Let us show that this is the will of all of us. Central Television has described our concentration on the Baltic road as nationalist hysteria. Let us show that we are dignified and serious. There are many important guests here in Vilnius. Let us convince them that we will never agree with the consequences of Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. There are many correspondents from foreign countries in Vilnius. Let them be convinced that we love freedom the same way as Russians, Swedes, Germans or Americans."

The next to address the crowd is writer Kazys Saja who continues the theme. He says: "The most terrible crimes against nations and the world have been committed by the uniformed, blind executors of laws." He continues: "One of these tyrants of our century, with all the ideology, attributes, party fuehrers and Gestapo gauleiters was set in a pillory a long time ago and the modification of the Stalinist empire with its gigantic apparatus of coercion is still threatening nations longing for freedom. Saja concludes his address with these words: "The real truth is that we were occupied 50 years ago, annexed like Russian tribes once were enslaved by the Tartars, but we still wish to be independent. When we say the word Lithuania we see a free flying bird, and not a hen in a common poultry farm with a single cock."

Professor Valeriy (Shekhman) is next on the rostrum, he speaks in Russian saying: "We welcome the author of perestroyka, the outstanding politician of our times, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Welcome!" He continues: "The Lithuanian Communist Party, regards as one of its aims the achievement of Lithuania's independence; this expresses the will of the people. The striving for sovereignty is not an expression of national ambitions or nationalism. People of various nationalities have always resided in Lithuania, in the Lithuanian state. Lithuanians used to be Polonized, Lithuanians

used to be Belorussified, Russified, Germanised. However, the Lithuanians never imposed the Lithuanian language and culture on anybody. Lithuania has always been tolerant on the subject of nationalism, still is so and will remain so." The speaker says: "We wish to live in a common European house, and not in the basements of an empire under the supervision of the KGB." The crowd shouts approval.

"Comrades from the CPSU Central Committee," he continues, "who have arrived and not arrived in Lithuania. We have rallied around you so closely, that we can no longer breathe. We are telling you directly: Reconstruct and help Gorbachev to implement perestroyka as soon as possible." "If you, comrades from the CPSU, do not want reconstruction, talk to the members of the Central Committee of our Lithuanian Communist Party. They will tell how to do this, they will tell you how under the cover of internal party struggle national passions are fanned. They are great masters of this. For us assembled here perestroyka is a healthy economy, democracy, independence." The professor concludes with a sentence in Lithuanian: "Lithuania will be free!".

The next to speak is Doctor of Sciences Algirdas Zalatorious. In his speech he says: "It would suffice, if one day Moscow said: All Soviet republics are free, arrange your affairs as you wish. The general staff would add: We are not going to use force, we are taking away our bases and soldiers, we are leaving you some armaments because the war industry has been financed from everyone's income. Then we would see how everything would be solved, what great enthusiasm there would be, how many sufferings would be forgiven and how many wrongs would be forgotten." Later he adds: "There is no other choice at the end of the 20th Century—only partnership. Here, truth is our strength and our hope."

Next Liudas Truska, a historian specializing in Lithuanian history, takes the floor. He expresses this hope: "I would like to believe that our high-ranking visitor would understand during his visit here to Lithuania that nowhere has the perestroyka he started been more staunchly supported by so many people than in this republic." Later in his address he says: "We marked the words by Mikhail Gorbachev 1 year ago from the rostrum of the United Nations that freedom of choice is a universal principal which has no exceptions and that this right of nations can not be denied under any pretext. However, what causes us concern is this that whenever we want to take up this right, we are labeled separatists, nationalists, isolationists; we are intimidated, we are threatened and the very existence of our nation is in doubt."

The speaker also says that Lithuanians are not separatists but a nation with hundreds of years of traditions of sovereignty and statehood. Truska says that Lithuania is a member of the Union of nations and is recognized by all states in the world. The Stalinist USSR annexed it illegally in 1940, he believes. "We want to believe that all the declarations made by the USSR administration about the equality of nations and their right to self-determination will be confirmed by deeds. We want to believe that new thinking will be demonstrated and that the freedom of choice will be guaranteed not only to ex-colonies of the UK or France but also to the nations enslaved by the Russian Tsars and the Stalinist empire," Truska concludes.

Finally, Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Sajudis Seimas Council, invites the participants to conclude the rally and sing the Lithuanian national anthem. The report ends with the crowd singing the anthem.

CPSU Leaders' Activities in Lithuania Noted

LD1001135190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The Lithuanian papers are describing in detail the visit to the republic of a group of participants in the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, who are meeting communists and work collectives in the republic, and personalities in science, culture, and education.

This morning Medvedev, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, went to the Vilniuskiy Rayon where he met workers of the (pyargele) collective farm.

Maslyukov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, began his third day in Lithuania by visiting the (Sigma) Association in Vilnius and having conversations with workers and employees of the enterprise.

Nikitin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, is on the second day of a visit to Radviliskiy rayon where he is thoroughly familiarizing himself with the affairs of state and collective farms.

Meetings by other members of the group of the Central Committee are also continuing. Comrades Ulyanov and Oleynik continued their discussions with representatives of the creative intelligentsia of the republic.

Maslyukov Meetings, Visits Detailed

Interviewed on Lithuania

LD1001203290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Interview with Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers, by correspondent Lyudmila Semina following 10 January meeting at Vilnius Sigma Association—recorded]

[Text] [Semina] Yuriy Dmitriyevich, do you think dialogue is taking place? I understand it is a difficult discussion.

[Maslyukov] It has to take place. There is no other way. There should be mutual understanding, mutual respect. I am sure that there are points of convergence which can lead to unity, especially on principal issues. Apart from this, great hopes are placed on the arrival of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, great hopes in connection with the forthcoming January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the preparation of the new program and rules of the CPSU. All this without a doubt plays a positive role. I believe the main thing is not to rush and make hasty decisions, but to evaluate the situation in a very balanced way and to find points of convergence between the two parties.

[Semina] Well, even here in the discussion at this enterprise, we heard that a great deal has to be speeded up, improved, and changed both in the economy and in our legislative policy.

[Maslyukov] Well, you know that the process of restructuring is gaining in strength—it is gathering speed. Today a package of basic economic laws has been presented at the session of the Supreme Soviet. We are waiting for these laws, because without them—we just simply cannot work without them—because all our normative approaches, those command-administrative approaches, have grown obsolete. Life needs something new, and this is contained in these laws.

[Semina] And the law (?to be adopted) on the economic independence of the Baltic republics—do you think that this will also help us to work together?

[Maslyukov] Of course, the law defines the basic positions of independence, self-financing, and self-management of the Baltic republics, but at the same time, many questions have been shifted to an all-union law which is now also under consideration by the Supreme Soviet. When it is adopted, many problems will be solved. We expect that the law on republican and regional self-management and self-financing will help us a great deal.

Visits Klaipeda Shipyard

LD1001183390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] One of the main topics today is the meetings held in Lithuania by a group of participants in the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee with the republic's communists.

[Reporter I. Minayev] Klaipeda, the only ice-free port in the Baltic, is connected with the rest of the country by thousands of economic threads. The port receives and dispatches around 12 million tonnes of various freight each year. [video shows views of harbor]

This is the "Baltiya" shipbuilding works, an enterprise which is well-known in the country. [passage omitted: background on the shipyard's activities]

The works management and its engineering and technical staff are convinced that, if the enterprise becomes subordinate to the republic, it will definitely lose. Well, there are economic calculations behind that opinion.

Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov took an interest in the collective's opinion, as that is one of the decisive factors. It turned out that the issue had not been discussed widely, in order not to exacerbate the already strained atmosphere at the works. Nevertheless, such a decision hardly helps things. This place does indeed have enough mutual reproaches, irritation, and various opinions and slogans, but the enterprise's fate probably worries all of the workers, regardless of their national allegiance.

In talks at the enterprise, Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov noted how important it is to achieve mutual understanding and to know how to listen to each other and speak the language of facts, not of emotions.

[Begin Recording] [Unidentified Worker] [Passage omitted: worker expresses his views]

[Maslyukov] How far do you think labor productivity has fallen?

[Worker] Now—basically, there is a discussion here—well, somewhere around 20% or 30%.

[Maslyukov] And has the volume of output gone down?

[Worker] It has not gone down, in principle. This work will hold out; we are trying to work.

[Maslyukov] But there is a lot of talking, isn't there?

[Worker] Of course. [end recording] [Video shows ships in dock; Maslyukov and entourage touring shipyard; Maslyukov in conversation with the worker, with a banner reading "CPSU Unity" behind him]

[Video switches to an open-air assembly. The "CPSU Unity" banner is seen again, along with two others in Russian: One reads "Liberty for the Lithuanian Democratic Republic!"; the other says "We are against separatism! We are for a united federal state!"]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] If you are going to deal with just the economy, that is one aspect; but we have other demands, you understand—well, not demands, but our opinions.

[Maslyukov] Comrades, the meetings will take place only by taking account of the opinions of all sides. I promise you that. It will be Mikahail Sergeyevich's program when he is here. So, you should not have any doubts here—account will definitely be taken of all sides, all interested sides. [end recording]

Meets With Vilnius Workers

LD1001134690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Presented by Jurate Vaianciute]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Y. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Planning Committee, started his day by meeting workers and staff members of Vilnius Sigma Production Association.

Janina Mecelitaite, a Lithuanian Radio journalist, reporting from the plant, said that Y. Maslyukov showed great interest in the plant's production. The director of the Sigma Production Association said that certain problems in material supply have emerged now that the plant is under republican control.

After meeting with the management, the high-ranking guest was to meet the workers at the electronics assembly shop.

[Begin recording] [Macelitaite] On arrival at the plant, the guests were met only by several people and management representatives. Now at the electronics assembly shop, people are—I would say—ready for a rally. I can see national flags, I can see some slogans.

[Unidentified male voice] This is not just some, there are rather many of them.

[Macelitaite] You know I find it very difficult to get closer to the slogans and plackards—could you please read some of them so that we can know what they say?

[Male voice] One of the slogans reads that Burokevicius and other leaders of the split-away party section are rotten pillars of the empire. Some others are interesting too: Lenin granted independence to Lithuania; Stalin and his Army took it away; What is Gorbachev going to do?

[Macelitaite] To whom was I talking?

[Male Voice] Chairman of the plant's council of veterans. My name is Paulauskas. [end recording]

The report ended with the journalist looking for somebody with a different, alternative opinion to the one expressed above. She talked in the corridor to a man who refused to give his name. He spoke Lithuanian with a Russian accent.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified male voice] People can have a difference of opinion but they should not interfere with Lithuania going toward such a good goal. [end recording]

Gives Economic Reassurance

LD1101012390 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Thank you for not disrupting the economic ties with the Soviet Union. This is the most welcome news I have heard today. Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, told the meeting he had with the leading Lithuanian economists, heads of ministries, departments, and industrial enterprises. Being misguided, many Soviet enterprises annulled treaties with Lithuania whereas Moscow-based departments attempt to resolve their problems at the expense of Lithuania. Yuriy Maslyukov said he would apply austere measures against those who on political grounds refused to supply raw materials to Lithuania.

(Agimintas Mutalevicus), head of the large enterprise, told the meeting Lithuania was all for economic partnership with the Soviet Union. It is the center that wants to oust Lithuania from the Soviet Union, (Agimintas Mutalevicus) said.

'Sigma' Workshop Meeting

LD1001223190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The main all-union theme today both in the newspapers and in our news bulletins is the stay in Lithuania of a group of CPSU Central Committee plenum participants. As you know, they have been having meeting with the republic's communists and work collectives.

In Lithuania at present are: Comrade Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Nikitin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and also comrades Ulyanov and Oleynik. All of these people are, so to speak, holding intensive meetings with the working people of Lithuania.

Lyudmila Semina and Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, "Latest News" special correspondents in Lithuania, are now in touch with our studio. They will give a more detailed account of how the day was spent today and how, in general, everything is taking place there. So, Lyudmila Aleksandrovna, over to you:

[Semina] There have been so many events in Vilnius today that even between the two of us we have not been able to cover them all. We shall speak about the meetings that we managed to attend.

Early this morning Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Minister Kolesnikov; and Academician Velikhov had meetings with the collective of the Sigma production association in Vilnius. It is a large-scale up-to-date production facility with five enterprises in various Lithuanian towns and its own research institutes and design and planning organizations. The association designs and produces the latest electronic computer equipment and manufactures the most diverse consumer goods. The talk with the association's management was about scientific, economic, and legal problems. In particular there was talk of the fact that further effective creative work is being held up by the absence of the relevant legislative acts—on the

socialist enterprise and joint-stock companies. The specialists understood each other immediately. This is a common problem.

In one of the workshops Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov was tightly encircled by workers who were holding hastily prepared placards. Listen to this brief fragment from their conversation:

[Begin recording] [Maslyukov] It is a wonderful association and its products are very much high-tech and handsome ones. It is just a question of getting on with life and work, provided one does not, of course, create additional problems.

[First unidentified man] Lenin admitted that Lithuania is in a (?special) situation. [words indistinct]

[Second unidentified man] Okay, that is all history. Let us perhaps talk and let us get down to the Moscow-Vilnius relationship and how we are to exist in the future. The first step that is approved by most of the Lithuanian population is an independent Communist Party of Lithuania. This is a very positive first step.

[Third unidentified man] It is drawing up its viewpoint that at the given moment is necessary for the state.

[Maslyukov] The parties have different programs, do they?

[Third man] That is right.

[Maslyukov] That is correct, is it? What are the basic differences between the CPSU program and that of the Communist Party of Lithuania?

[Third man] I would say that in my view there are fundamental ones. Firstly, our program proclaims the individual, then the family, the people, and the state, while the CPSU on the contrary puts the state first.

[Maslyukov] You know, this is all a matter of details. When you are at home you think of the family....

[Third man, interrupting] That is right.

[Maslyukov]...the individual, the family, and finally the state. I think that this is right. The individual should be at the head of everything. Everything is changing.

[Third man] It is changing, is it?

[Maslyukov] Yes, it is changing with every passing day. Everything is being restructured.

[Third man] Okay. Someone must be first. Someone must take the first step. We have taken that step.

[Maslyukov] We are striving to preserve the union. We are striving to preserve our specialization, to broaden it, to diversify it, and make it more hi-tech. You are also striving for this. You do not intend to sever links with the union, do you?

[Third man] No way!

[Maslyunkov] The economy must be independent, I agree with you. But there are ties. There is never any full independence. There are all-round ties. There are the 650 enterprises with whom you work.

[Third man] Not only them.

[Maslyukov] That is just you alone. [end recording]

[Ruvinskiy] You know, not all of the meetings of the Moscow delegation here in Lithuania, in Vilnius, are planned in advance and therefore it really is not easy for journalists to succeed in covering everything. Mikhail Aleksandrovich Ulyanov was the guest of theater workers today. He expressed his view about previous meetings here in the republic and mainly that the communist movement, despite all of the disagreements inside it, remains a mighty force in Lithuania, and its authority has perhaps grown even more. Well this is confirmed, incidentally, by a public opinion poll which has been conducted here. The idea of personal responsibility for everything is an idea which has taken possession of the masses, thinks Mikhail Aleksandrovich. As for the concrete implementation of ideas of independence, Ulyanov noted, then rushing forward without a backwards glance is dangerous for its unpredictability. This meeting was a very interesting one and we will perhaps give an account of it in greater detail tomorrow in the morning Mayak "Panorama" program.

Among the other events of today I would also single out the meeting in the center of Vilnius. It passed under the slogan: Freedom and Independence for Lithuania. Well, I do not have official data on how many people took part in it but it was quite imposing and it took place, I have to say, in an exclusively well-organized way. Among the banners and posters there were quite a few in support of an independent communist party and its leader, Brazauskas.

Directly before this newscast a regular press conference also took place. It was with the leader of the Sajudis public movement, Professor Landsbergis, and it seems to me that in this movement he supports the most extreme views regarding Lithuanian independence, and incidentally, the latest public opinion poll has shown a certain fall in his popularity. And in conclusion I will say that everybody here is waiting for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and it is thought generally that he will arrive in literally just a few hours. We end today's story on that note.

Moscow TV Report

LD1001233290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Report over video from Lithuania by correspondent I. Minayev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Sigma Production Association in Vilnius is one of the largest enterprises in the republic. Computer equipment with its label is despersed throughout the

country. Demand for it is high. The association has established stable economic ties with over 600 enterprises in various republics.

Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov met with the association's collective today. The meetings here had been prepared. There were many posters in the workshops. As you can see, their authors did not try very hard to stick to parliamentary style. [video shows exterior and interior views of works; Maslyukov touring. Two banners held by workers read, in Russian, "Lenin recognized Lithuania. Stalin took our independence away. What about Gorbachev?" And, "The Soviet federation is the 'masterpiece' and dark business of the 20th Century."]

The conversation was pointed. It turned out that many contradictions only seem irreconsilable, while loud propagandistic phrases are far from always backed up by facts:

[Begin recording] [First unidentified man speaking to Maslyukov] ...in future, when our goals are achieved, that there should not be any quiet economic blockade—I stress, quite—from the Soviet Union, let us say.

[Maslyukov] What economic blockade? We are trying to maintain the union. We are trying to maintain our specialization, to broaden it, to diversify it, and make it more hi-tech. You have also been striving for this. You don't intend to sever links with the union, do you?

[First man] No way!

[Maslyukov] We do not intend to, either.

[First man] I myself am a Russian, but I have been living here in Lithuania for a little over 30 years. I have become convinced that the Lithuanian people are not like that. They are—how can I put it?—a very good-natured, hard-working people. They never impose their own opinion on others, but they will stand up for that opinion of theirs right to the end.

[Maslyukov] Please, nobody is saying that you have to change your points of view. I mean, I value the Lithuanian people very highly and understand their hard-working attitude, their intellect, and all the rest. But why not find common approaches to many issues? Why not? Why do....

[Second unidentified man, interrupting] Esteemed [word indistinct], we are also supported by the fact that Brazauskas and the LCP [Lithuanian Communist Party] will never go against the CPSU, never, but they are asking for indep....

[Maslyukov interrupting] We shan't go—well, we are in favor of nobody going against anybody. Let us select common positions.

[Second man] It must be admitted, we shall be friends, as they say.

[Maslyukov] Well, let us be friends. But are you and we enemies now, then?

[Second man] No, we've never been that.

[Maslyukov] Well, we've never been that.

[First man] But why do they consider us enemies there? They still call us nationalist hysteria. That's the reaction there's been since 23d August.

[Maslyukov] Nothing of the sort. We do not consider anybody our enemies, but some issues require examination. [video shows Maslyukov in a group of workers then cuts to show Maslyukov speaking to another group]

[Maslyukov] ...must definitely be so that none of the people will suffer. That is the most important thing. [end recording]

Medvedev Meetings, Visits Detailed

'Radical Changes'

LD1001131290 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] A large group of party leaders from Moscow was staying today for the second day in Lithuania. In small groups they are visiting various parts of Lithuania.

The head of the group, Politburo Member Vadim Medvedev, visited Kaunas today and on the way there, the Pravena Collective Farm in Kaisiadorys Rayon. Vadim Medvedev is accompanied by the First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, Algirdas Brazauskas, and Secretary of the temporary Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the platform of the CPSU, Mykolas Burakevicius. It seems that he is the most important person in the organization remaining loyal to the CPSU program.

Speaking in Kaunas Vadim Medvedev described a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which will take place at the end of January. This plenum will adopt the CPSU political platform, and with this platform the party will go to its 28th congress. The platform should submit many radical changes in the party. It is intended to substantially increase the independence of the communist parties in the Union republics and the role of all party organizations and party members. On the other hand, speaking yesterday at the Zalgiris machine tool works in Vilnius, Vadim Medvedev stated that the resolutions of the 20th congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party are a blow to the internationalist unity of the CPSU, a blow to the building of a renewed federation, a blow to the whole reconstructing at its decisive moment.

Somewhat different reasonings were disclosed in his meeting by another member of the Politburo, Yuriy Maslyukov. Speaking at the Klaipeda shipbuilding yard "Baltija", he dwelt on the problems of national relations and assured that the Soviet Government would in no

circumstances forget its solicitude for the citizens residing in the Republic, would take care of their affairs and would always guarantee their social security. I will remind you that it was in the "Baltija" shipbuilding yard that the "Yedinstvo" organization was set up.

Speaking yesterday in front the Snieckus party and economic leaders Yuriy Maslyukov stated that the Lithuanian Communist Party program and statute are closer to the social democrats, liberals, and not to the communist party. In the present Lithuanian Communist Party, national interests dominate. Speaking about any republic wishing to secede from the Soviet Union, he stated that so far there is no mechanism or law describing how this constitutional right could be implemented. In any case, if such a decision is made by a referendum, everything should take place peacefully within the period of several years.

PRAVDA Assessment

PM1001143190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Frank Dialogues, Quest for Mutually Acceptable Approaches"]

[Text] Vilnius, 9 Jan—In the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] meetings are continuing between the group of CPSU Central Committee plenum participants and the republic's Communists, party organizations, and labor collectives. An intensive exchange of opinions on ways of establishing Lithuania's economic independence and the development of the USSR and a quest for mutually acceptable approaches to solving the problems which have arisen after the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress are under way.

On Tuesday V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with labor collectives from morning until late evening. He visited the "Pravena" Kolkhoz [collective farm] in Kayshyadorskiy Rayon and the "Koordinate" Machine-Tool Building Association in Kaunas. Meetings were also held with the Kaunas party aktiv and party and labor veterans.

The most acute issues of concern to people were raised in the course of frank and thorough discussions with workers, rural working people, and the intelligentsia. The most diametrically opposed opinions were expressed, ranging from active support for the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress to sharp criticism of them. At the same time, the thrust of the debate was nonetheless determined by a desire for a consolidation of forces on a truly democratic basis in the name of perestroyka. The view was expressed that social tension which has arisen in the republic must on no account be allowed to turn into confrontation. This would be most dangerous. The participants told those who hold different views to sit down at the negotiating table in order to elaborate mutually acceptable positions, in the interests of the republic and the USSR as a whole.

V.A. Medvedev stressed that the CPSU is the initiator of perestroyka and remains its main guarantor today. Perestroyka has exposed a number of problems which had built up over the years—economic, social, and interethnic problems. This demands responsibility, a considered approach, and wisdom. He disclosed that a CPSU Central Committee plenum is scheduled for the end of January. It will adopt the CPSU political platform that the party will take to its 28th congress. The platform is to propose a number of radical transformations in the party. It is planned to sharply enhance the independence of the union republic communist parties and party organizations and the role of each party member. This program will be in keeping with the most vital tasks of the current stage of development. In this context V.A. Medvedev expressed disagreement with the view alleging the party itself is beginning to retard perestroyka and trying to arrest the changes which have been set in motion. On the contrary, he stressed, renewal processes are now intensifying within the party itself. The debate which is getting under way will undoubtedly enrich party organizations' day-to-day practice and the preparations for the CPSU Congress.

Various aspects of Lithuanian history were touched upon at the meetings and were sometimes given diametrically opposed interpretations. Attention was drawn to the need to see history as it is, rather than taking a selective view. Reality must not be embellished, but the positive results the republic has achieved within the USSR should not be ignored either.

The new year will be a year of work in conditions of economic independence for the republic. Naturally, this topic perturbed many people. The meeting participants, in particular, cited instances of a failure to meet contract commitments and deliveries of substandard output to the republic. In reply, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed that economic independence must not lead to disunity and the disruption of established ties. Yet instances of this type of indiscipline, unfortunately, are not rare, and, not just in Lithuania, it is necessary to investigate and eradicate them, but without giving them political overtones.

In their statements Lithuania's working people expressed support for perestroyka and confidence in M.S. Gorbachev and said that they are looking forward to his arrival in the republic.

Many of the republic's working people want Lithuania's development to continue to take place within the USSR. For all the diversity of opinions, the meetings that have been held can be said to convey this impression.

A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, M. Burakevicius, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee (on the CPSU platform), and I.A. Karimov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the broad discussion of the vital problems.

Just as the previous day in Snechkus city, where a meeting with the Ignalina AES [nuclear electric power station] labor collective and party aktiv took place, the complexities of the political atmosphere in the republic, which has become exacerbated after the wellknown decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, were reflected in all their diversity in Klaypeda 9 January, during the visit by Yu.D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], to the "Baltiya" shipyard.

In both places many working people expressed profound concern at the future development of Lithuania in the prevailing situation. They fear for the fate of their enterprises and their own fate since the course toward isolation from the Soviet Union may sharply change, if not disrupt, their lives. It is a matter of their own future and the future of their children.

Both in the Ignalina AES collective and at the "Baltiya" shipyard working people said repeatedly that the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress were hasty and had not been thought through. Shipyard workers B.F. Zhidousov, a war, labor, and party veteran; engineer L.G. Lazarenko; Ye.V. Sokolov, chief of the labor and wages department; S.A. Karabut, translator for the board of directors; and others who took the floor spoke about the need to strengthen the unity of the CPSU and the unity of the USSR and to preserve Lithuania as an equal Soviet republic. Central party and state organs were also reproached for insufficiently resolute measures to finally eliminate the administrative-edict system and obsolete methods of leadership. Foreman E. Lukauskas, for instance, spoke about this.

Yu.D. Maslyukov described the political situation in the country and particular regions, and also measures to accelerate the implementation of the economic reform. He gave an account of the consistent and purposeful work by the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo, and the USSR Government aimed at renewing the CPSU and economic structures in the national economy.

In connection with the recent decisions of Lithuania's Communists Yu.D. Maslyukov said: The whole point about democratization is that it implies mutual understanding. And this understanding must be reached by listening to the opinions and arguments of the various sides. Proceeding from the real situation, it is necessary not to get excited but calmly and soberly weigh up all the "pros" and "cons."

Citing economic studies and calculations, he showed how Lithuania's level of economic development has risen during its years within the USSR. The speaker dwelt in particular detail on the interdependence of the production ties between the republic and the country as a whole and cited the following examples. The Ignalina AES' capacities are included in the calculations of the USSR Energy Program, and the "Baltiya" shipyard receives components from 13 union republics, as is well known. To break these ties would be seriously damaging and, what is more, Lithuania and its people would suffer most.

Answering numerous questions related to problems in interethnic relations, Yu.D. Maslyukov gave assurances that the Soviet Government will on no account stop caring for the citizens living in the republic, and for their needs, and that their social protection will always be guaranteed.

The first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers also visited the Klaypeda merchant port and the "Sirius" science and production association. During the discussion of issues with the leaders of these collectives, production and social development problems were touched upon.

A meeting with the city's party aktiv took place in the evening.

Other CPSU Central Committee plenum participants visiting the Lithuanian SSR met with the republic's Communists and studied the situation and mood in party organizations and labor collectives on 8 and 9 January. Ye.P. Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, talked to members of the academic council and party aktiv of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, visited the Ignalina AES, and met inhabitants of Snechkus city. V.G. Kolesnikov, USSR minister of the electronics industry, met with the collectives of the Vilnius "Venta" and "Vingis" associations. V.V. Nikitin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Purchases, acquainted himself with the work of the Vilnius greenhouse combine and the Lithuanian Agricultural Scientific Research Institute in Kedaynskiy Rayon.

Conversations with the republic's cultural figures and artists were fruitful. M.A. Ulyanov, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Theater Workers Union Board, talked to Lithuanian theater workers. B.I. Oleynik, secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Writers Union and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, met with Lithuanian writers.

Kaunas Visit

PM1001171190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[Own correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy dispatch: "Lithuania: Nobody Is Willing To Waive His Principles"]

[Text] The group of participants in the CPSU Central Committee plenum is continuing its meetings with Communists, party organizations, and labor collectives in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had meetings with labor collectives from early morning until late at night on Tuesday [9

January]. He went to Kayshyadorskiy Rayon's "Pravena" Collective Farm [kolkhoz] and visited the "Koordinate" Machine Tool Building Production Association. Meetings were also held with members of the Kaunas party aktiv and with party and labor veterans.

V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited Kayshyadorskiy Rayon's crop farmers en route from Vilnius to Kaunas. The meeting was scheduled to last about 1 and ½ hours but if you watched the "Vremya" program you will have seen the slogans with which the Politburo member was greeted and the heated debate which developed in the kolkhoz club. It is obvious that such meetings never end strictly on schedule. Therefore, workers at the "Koordinate" Plant had to wait for more than 1 hour. As a matter of fact, they themselves also delayed the visitor by more than 1 hour....

It is well known that simple truths are difficult to assimilate and need frequent repetition. Once again, these words were repeated in the plant club: Our strength lies in unity, the Lithuanian Communist Party's split at a tense, not to say dramatic, moment of perestroyka could have a fatal effect on perestroyka itself.

"The 20th congress decisions on withdrawal from the CPSU's structure create a situation never before experienced by our party and state. Even though the documents do not speak bluntly of withdrawal from the CPSU, it is an open secret that this is so."

"Quite right," someone from the still silent hall interjected....

"To be consistent," V.A. Medvedev went on, "this decision expresses mistrust in the CPSU and disagreement with its present policy, the party policy of perestroyka."

The hall buzzed, the hall disagreed, nobody wants to be classed as being an anti-perestroyka man.

It is well known that there can be only one single truth. So, what is perestroyka today—a leap toward the party's federalization, or a moderation of renewal? How to bridge the gap of misunderstanding? A joint solution can be elaborated only through constructive dialogue, with each side displaying readiness to make concessions and see its opponent's point of view. Unfortunately (I am slightly anticipating events here) the day was not crowned with success, nobody is willing to waive his principles....

Arguments seemed to "come in waves" from the hall, as it were. A counterargument to every argument. Applause for each successful counterargument....

In order to give you an impression of the stance, mood, and arguments of the audience at "Koordinate," for example, I shall transcribe from the tape recording the most typical suggestions, questions, and statements.... In my view, it is simply necessary to do this because, in the same way as the entire republic press was accused of lack of objectivity in favor of national interests at "Zhalgiris," the entire central press and television were accused here of supposedly distorting the truth to please Moscow.

"I represent the exiled Putnas family, the remains of my three brothers were spread across the polar tundra. This is a consequence of the CPSU's policy; Suslov used to say in the past that Lithuania would remain in being but without Lithuanians. When will the CPSU accept responsibility for the crimes and repent?"

"The visitor asks why the 20th congress should have adopted such decisions? Let me answer. Had this step not been taken, the Communist Party would not have had the least chance of victory at the forthcoming elections, it would not have won more than 20% of the seats. Now its chance has improved. But I have the following question. When will an occupation policy cease being treated as interparty and interstate relations?"

"I have been a party member for 28 years and now hew firmly to the positions of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party. We in the party thought long and hard about this: Who are we, where are we going—toward socialism or toward some dark future?"

"I am a Georgian by nationality, I was born and raised in Lithuania, I graduated from the Russian school, and therefore class myself as belonging to the Russian-speaking population. The decisions by the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress are wise, since they are geared to the future. I wholeheartedly support them even though I am a nonparty person."

"What is socialism? Someone said—darkness. I have my own opinion. It is Tatar-Mongol slavery of the Russo-Jewish variety. We now have two communist parties. One is Lithuanian. The other consists of Old Believers, remnants of their own people. We are in favor of perestroyka, of a rule-of-law state when every people will constitute a state—Mari, Bashkirs, Tatars, Russians, and, of course, Lithuanians."

Listening to the recording of the meeting, I constantly came to "noise spots" which at times drowned out the speaker's voice. That was, as a rule, the response to words which the hall was unwilling to hear. Since we have been unstinting in column-inches when stating the viewpoint of the Lithuanian Communist Party's supporters, let us also be fair to the Politburo member.

"It is impossible to takes bits of history and interpret them outside their historical context. (Speaking about the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and Lithuania's accession to the USSR—L.K.) If you are talking about ongoing occupation, then let me ask you: Does the fact that the republic's economy is developing twice as fast as in other republics indicate occupation? Can anyone refute the fact that, back in 1940, Lithuania's industrial output was one-4third of the all-Union level, and now.... Comrades, you can make as much noise as you like, but facts are

facts. Check them for yourselves. Do this, and see for yourselves that, in terms of basic indicators, Lithuania is above the average Union level. People in the hall are asking—what about Sweden, Finland.... Look, and you will discover that even in 1940 Finland was above Lithuania in terms of economic development....

"Subjectivism must not be allowed in the interpretation of even tragic pages of history. Let us therefore not forget that 1939 brought the Vilnius region and five Belorussian rayons back to Lithuania. It is impossible to forget that for years Klaypeda was Memel and became Lithuanian only after the Great Patriotic War, that Lithuania first acquired its statehood within modern borders in 1945."

It must be said that V.A. Medvedev's meetings in Kaunas were meetings with a special audience. It was in Kaunas that the idea of convening the extraordinary Lithuanian Communist Party congress was conceived, and the city party organization immediately and ardently backed the model for the creation of an independent Lithuanian Communist Party. The decisive demolition of prevailing structures and management of party life began here. It seems to me that this experience contains much that deserves attention and emulation. But today's conversation was about something else....

The following words were heard during V.A. Medvedev's meeting with members of Kaunas City party and soviet aktiv: We are on the threshold of a constitutional-party crisis. They give me no rest. Because the way out of a crisis does not lie through confrontation, a crisis can be overcome only by accord and mutual concessions. [passage omitted reproducing material already reported from PRAVDA 10 Jan Second Edition report]

Pobeda Kolkhoz Visit

LD1001220190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Report by correspondent D. Biryukov in Lithuania; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Biryukov] You will agree that it is pleasant when visitors are welcomed like this—with flowers and smiles rather than with pickets and placards. [video shows Medvedev and Brazauskas being presented with flowers as they arrive] That's precisely the way it was at the Pobeda [Victory] kolkhoz—Pergale, in Lithuanian. It's not far from Vilnius. Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev and the other comrades who are in Lithuania on the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, accompanied by Comrades Brazauskas and Burokevicius, held a meeting here, lasting several hours, with the local inhabitants and with the party aktiv. [video shows group entering a building; scenes of a meeting inside a large hall] Comrade Medvedev talked about how the CPSU Central Committee viewed the current moment, and what were the main directions of the party's activities.

[Begin Medvedev recording] All the questions can be solved as long as three, as it were, main principles are observed. The first is the renewal of our union, the preservation of our union, as a state. The second is the preservation of the unity of our party. And the third is the strictest observance of human rights irrespective of a person's national affiliation and no matter where he may be living—no matter where he may be living. This is also a principle of socialism—the equality of people. This is also in accordance with the universal Communist principles which have found their reflection in the norms of modern international law. [end recording]

[Biryukov] You remember we started the report with words about how the visitors were given a very cheerful welcome. But this did not reduce the level of frankness that became established in the hall. [video shows more meeting scenes; people standing up and speaking from the floor] The questions were pointed. Incidentally, today's meeting also had its own specific features: The kolkhoz is in an area where many Poles live. Just as pointed were the answers to those questions. People spoke of the economy, nationality problems, and manifestations of nationalism. But the hottest feelings arose during a discussion of the situation that had developed in Lithuania's party life. [video shows woman speaking from the platform]

It's easier to plow a field than to speak from a platform, said Stefaniya Serzhantovich, a noted machinist in the republic. But I'm a member of the party and cannot, I haven't the right to, be silent as I see what is happening to it. I feel ashamed of myself and of all communists in Lithuania: We have been unable to preserve for perestroyka the unity of the party organization. It is not easy today for myself and for my comrades who decided to remain on the platform of the CPSU. We are in the minority, but we believe in consolidation and in the unity of the ranks of the communists of Lithuania. [video shows more people speaking from the floor]

Many, to put it bluntly, awkward questions were put by the collective farmers to Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania. There would have been far fewer of them, and they would have been less pointed, the farmers said, if you party leaders came to see us more often, since today you've had a heart-to-heart talk with the people. [video shows Brazauskas listening and taking notes]

When saying farewell to the collective farmers, Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev urged them not to lose their faith in the success of the perestroyka that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had begun. [video ends with shot of Medvedev speaking from the rostrum]

Ethnic Issues Focus of Meeting

LD1101013490 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The visiting members of the CPSU Central Committee continued today their numerous meetings with

the people of Lithuania. The Politburo member Vadim Medvedev, First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Algirdas Brazauskas and others, visited today the Pergale collective farm in the Vilnius district. The meeting with the collective farmers took more than 3 hours and must have been one of the most heated ones. Due to historical circumstances ethnic minorities prevail in the Vilnius district. Poles make up 60 percent of the population, while Belorussians and Russians 15 percent each. No wonder, therefore, that the dominant issues were those connected with interethnic relations.

The collective farmers claim that Lithuanians ignored the interests of the Poles residing there, that only the Lithuanian Communist Party and the republic's government were to blame that the Polish schools experienced a shortage of teachers, that there was no Polish high school. Nikolas Burakevicus, a secretary of the interim Central Committee of the splinter Lithuanian Communist Party supporting the CPSU platform, accused Lithuanians of neglecting the interests of Poles in the Vilnius district. The Politburo member Vadim Medvedev backed up the local people who spoke at the meeting: People's deputy of the Soviet Union Anitset Brodavskiy, machine operator Stepanya Serantovich, and others, who expressed concern over the threat to ethnic concord in Lithuania.

Algirdas Brazauskas responded with a motivated speech as all these issues are no novelty either to him or to Lithuania's people. It's not easy to come to terms when emotions take the upper hand, Algirdas Brazauskas said. However, a calm assessment of the facts prompts the conclusion that no one in Lithuania forced Polish children to attend Russian schools. One could hardly agree that it would be easy to establish a higher school with Polish as the main language of instruction for such a small portion of the republic's population. As to the insufficient representation of Poles in elected supreme bodies of power, who is to blame if they do not nominate their candidates? Objective information proves that neither of the Polish inhabited districts are in any way discriminated on the part of the state as regards material supplies. On the other hand Algirdas Brazauskas agreed that the problems that have accumulated in those districts demand constant attention to be resolved but it takes time and initiative on the part of the residents themselves.

Yagodin, Karimov Hold Meetings in Vilnius

LD1101101690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0202 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, met with the teaching staff and students of the Vilnius Engineering and Construction Institute, and with the teaching aktiv of Ukmerge Rayon. Karimov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and Kuptsov, first secretary of the Vologda Party Oblast Committee, talked with workers of the Alytus Cotton Mill.

In Vilnius there were meetings with representatives of science and creative intelligentsia. Taking part in them were Academician Velikhov, the poet Oleynic, and USSR People's Artiste Ulyanov.

In the evening at the republic's Council of Ministers, a detailed examination was conducted of the transition of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] to self-financing autonomy; among other things, issues connected with the transfer to the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR of enterprises of union significance. In these far from simple days for the republic, filled with concerns and considerations and anxiety about the future, the residents of Lithuania are awaiting the arrival of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the meetings with him.

Lithuanian Communists Play Down Separatism

PM1101091590 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Jan 90 p 3

[Special correspondents N. Lashkevich and A. Morgun report under "News from the Republics" rubric: "Time for Construction. Marginal Notes From Minutes of Party Meeting"]

[Text] Shirvintskiy Rayon, Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic—the "Shirvinta" Collective Farm [Kolkhoz] numbered 130 Communists when the party meeting began. There were 10 fewer people in the party organization's ranks by the time the meeting summed up the results of the 4-hour debate. We will come back to this fact which requires special comment. At present, however, we would like to concentrate on the course of the meeting itself.

This is especially since the agenda—the results of the extraordinary 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, whose decisions were by no means local in character—merits it. The proclamation of the republic's independent Communist Party entailed the prompt convocation of a CPSU Central Committee plenum and its decision to send a group of Central Committee plenum participants to Lithuania to meet Communists there. As is well known, V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other senior officials have already gone there. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is expected to arrive in Vilnius in the near future.

But let's return to the meeting. Below we cite excerpts from what we heard both in speeches from the platform and behind the scenes. However, let's be blunt and say that we saw no great differences in what was said "for the record" and from the heart—in the years of perestroyka, people seem to have simply stopped speaking insincerely.

V. Martsinkyavichene, agronomist: Why did our party arrive at the idea of independence? This is partially a matter of ancient traditions, for there was a time when

the Lithuanian Communist Party was independent. However, frequently incompetent leadership from the center is equally at fault.

R. Mikolyunas, workshop chief: If the Lithuanian Communist Party had not taken this step, I am convinced that we would have been swept away and people would have consigned their party membership cards to the archives. Moreover, the party would have suffered a hopeless defeat in the coming elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet and local soviets.

M. Dubyatis, chief of a hog complex section: Don't you think that it's not quite normal to have a situation where there is immediate, adamant opposition to any attempt in any republic, in this case Lithuania, to take an independent step and adopt a responsible, independent decision? Isn't that why we cannot take heart in the fifth year of perestroyka from substantial progress in any sphere, apart from glasnost?

[Correspondents resume] It probably already is clear from the aforementioned statements that there was no conflict of opinion at the meeting as to how to assess the decisions of the extraordinary 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. We will say the following to give a fuller picture. Both the kolkhoz collective and the personnel of the primary party organization are multiethnic; not only Lithuanians but Russians, Belorussians, and Poles work here.... Thus, there clearly is no point in oversimplifying the situation by assuming that the republic's Communist Party was only split on ethnic grounds. Incidentally, G. Abromavichene, secretary of the party committee, in our presence collected questionnaires from Communists, which should have provided a preliminary response to the following question: In which Communist Party—independent or based on the CPSU platform—does a particular specific Communist prefer to remain?

Here are the statistics that were at our disposal by the end of the meeting: 19 people preferred to delay in making their final decision, especially since they have until 31 March for reflection. Some 80 Communists have already chosen an independent Communist Party and 1 person chose a Lithuanian Communist Party based on the CPSU platform.

We are not citing this distribution of votes solely out of our devotion to trustworthy, albeit not very pleasant, information and not only because we advocate the principle, " Bitter truth is better than sweet lies." We would like the reader to grasp the main point: The decisions adopted at the extraordinary 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress are by no means an adventure undertaken by willful delegates to the republic congress—they reflected the stance held by the rank-and-file Communists of Lithuania, who elected them to the party forum to represent their interests. We cannot fail to take this fact into consideration; just as we cannot fail to consider the fact that most rural inhabitants, unlike some overemotional speakers at the 20th Congress (we are by no means judging this solely from the example of the "Shirvinta" Kolkhoz), are extremely far-removed from ideas of separatism and do not share the cheap slogans about the republic's having a happy, trouble-free life immediately if it secedes from the union. On the contrary....

However, let's give the participants in the meeting the floor again, especially since there was by and large no debate in this case either.

I. Balchyunas, chief of the hog complex: Anyone who believes that we are automatically heading for secession from the USSR with the proclamation of an independent Communist Party is mistaken. Now as possibly never before, all our thoughts must be geared toward unity in the country and cooperation among the republics. This must, of course, be a quite different kind of cooperation based on qualitatively different relations. I believe that the following principle is the most correct here: We must repay friendship with friendship and service with service.... There must be no absence of personal responsibility. As you sow, so shall you reap. Friendship and the union can only gain with the renunciation of freeloading.

R. Mikolyunas, workshop chief: No sober person can take separatist ideas seriously. Only those people who seek cheap publicity or who are in a hurry to acquire political capital for the election campaign yell about this. It is a pity that their voices are the most audible outside the republic. We are linked with the union by thousands of ties, none of which can be severed painlessly. Moreover, I am convinced that the more deeply perestroyka infiltrates the economy, the more durable and indissoluble these ties are. Thus, in my view, there is no alternative: We must live and build a new society together.

G. Abromavichene, secretary of the kolkhoz party committee: We are very eagerly awaiting the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's arrival in the republic. We want everyone to know that the Lithuanian people value the activity of M.S. Gorbachev who initiated and is implementing perestroyka. Something else I must speak about: On New Year's Eve, the "Veydrodis" ("Mirror") program on republic television contained a crude feeble joke regarding the general secretary. The union reader was informed of this by the mass media. However, we would like the reader to be aware of something else: The overwhelming majority of Lithuanians have an unequivocal opinion of this—the program writers demonstrated their poor artistic and cultural level and their lack of elementary tact and taste. We would not like to compare the intelligentsia and ordinary workers, but none of our kolkhoz workers would have stooped to such vulgarity....

[Correspondents resume] For our part, we will add: It was perhaps unnecessary in this case to compare the intelligentsia and the peasantry—we believe that most

townspeople and people involved in the world of literature, art, and theater hold a similar position on this question.

Now is just the time to return to the fact with which we began this account of the kolkhoz party meeting: Ten communists asked to leave the republic's Communist Party that day. You will agree that this is a substantial loss—10 people in 1 day. Let's not draw hasty conclusions. Here is the picture that emerged at the meeting: Four people left the party because they were self-critical and admitted that they had not worked in the organization but were members on paper who only paid dues. They "were persuaded" to join in the past to maintain the so-called peasant quotient at the proper level. We will allow the reader to draw an independent conclusion as to how palpable this loss is for the party organization.

Another five "outgoing members" are from the same family—the kolkhoz chairman's wife and four children. It became clear during the investigation into these applications that the motivating force behind them was a protest by members of the chairman's family because they had been unable to take advantage of the head of the family's leadership position for their personal ends. To put it plainly, it was all sparked off by the chairman's daughter's occupying a 3-room apartment in an arbitrary fashion without authorization from the kolkhoz board. Let the reader draw his own conclusions in this case.

Lastly, the 10th Communist to renounce his party membership attributed his decision to the fact that a split had occurred within the Communist Party. The two parties' positions are implacable toward one another, and this resulted in the man's resorting to this original form of protest.

We repeat, there is only one such case in the "Shirvinta" Kolkhoz. Nonetheless, it is no coincidence that we are directing attention to it, since by and large people in the republic note in some way the danger associated with a split in the party. We must not fail to realize that it is not so rare for this reason for leaving the party to be given at meetings in primary party organizations. If we take into consideration the fact that Communists have quite a lot of time to determine their position—until the end of March—this problem could quite easily become more than acute. It is time to draw the unequivocal conclusion—destruction and confrontation must be a thing of the past. It is time for construction! Our hopes of a better future can only be pinned on this.

Popularity of Lithuanian Dissident CP Rising

PM1101094190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 p 1

[Report by V. Zarovskiy: "Higher Rating"]

[Text] The Public Opinion Research Center at the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law carried out a poll recently. Here are some figures. The growing prestige of the Lithuanian Communist Party (Autonomous) is reflected by the following data. At the end of November, its rating was plus 16; it is now plus 73. The corresponding figures for Sajudis are plus 60/plus 65. The most popular Lithuanian public figure at the moment is A.M. Brazauskas (73%). The rating for M. Gorbachev's domestic policy at the end of December was plus 55 (plus 42 in November).

At the 10th session of the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka (Sajudis), a resolution was adopted "On the attitude toward the present Lithuanian Communist Party." One of the provisions says: "The Seimas supports all actions by the Lithuanian Communist Party leadership, which can contribute to the resurrection of the Lithuanian state."

Sajudis Leader Queried on Secession, Elections

AU1101091790 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Interview with Virgil Cepaytis, secretary general of Lithuanian Sajudis movement, by Armin Wolf in Vienna 10 January—recorded; Cepaytis speaks in Polish with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Wolf] Mr Cepaytis, what do you expect of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania?

[Cepaytis] Nothing particularly important, because our entire development is leading in a single direction anyway. Gorbachev's visit is rather a help to our Communist Party which is facing elections.

[Wolf] Which direction is the development taking?

[Cepaytis] Our path is leading toward independence on a constitutional basis; therefore, we will have these elections, which we hope Sajudis will win.

[Wolf] Does this mean that you are striving for the formal secession of Lithuania from the USSR?

[Cepaytis] Yes, of course, because we cannot guarantee freedom, prosperity, and human rights to our citizens in Lithuania as long as we are part of the Soviet Union.

[Wolf] Thus, Lithuania is to become a completely independent and autonomous state, like Austria or Poland, for instance.

[Cepaytis in German] Yes, yes, of course.

[Wolf] What do you think, when will this goal be achieved?

[Cepaytis] I think by the end of this year, but it all depends on Moscow. If Moscow grants us economic independence, it will take more time. I think that Moscow will rather prevent us having economic independence, and that then we will have to make the separation on our part.

[Wolf] Moscow says that, on the basis of the Constitution, it is impossible to secede from the Soviet Union. How do you want to secede then? How do you want to do that?

[Cepaytis] Moscow could keep us only by military means, and Moscow cannot afford to do this.

[Wolf] Thus, you do not fear a military intervention?

[Cepaytis in German] No, no. A military intervention is not possible.

[Wolf] Elections are now to be held in Lithuania. Will Sajudis run as an independent party in these elections?

[Cepaytis] Of course, Sajudis will run in these elections, but we will not be the only movement. The Communist Party will also run. We hope that after these elections Sajudis will be a strong party, a conservative center party.

[Wolf] What percent do you expect Sajudis to win and what percent do you expect the Communist Party to win?

[Cepaytis] I think that Sajudis will win about 60% of the votes. The Communist Party is in a rather complicated situation, because part of the Communists belong to Sajudis, but the party apparatus will win about 30 percent.

[Wolf] If you get the majority, what will be your first steps after the elections?

[Cepaytis] The first step will be a new government, which will work in the direction of a new economy, because the necessary steps cannot be taken yet at the moment. What is being done now is actually sabotage.

[Wolf] When do you intend to declare independence?

[Cepaytis, in German] I do not know, I think that it will be this year.

[Wolf] By the end of this year?

[Cepaytis in German] This year.

[Wolf] Are you also thinking of leaving the Warsaw Pact then?

[Cepaytis] Our program says that we are striving for a completely independent and neutral status for Lithuania, a neutral and demilitarized status.

Lithuanian Resolution on Local Soviet Elections

90UN0587A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 9 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To alter Clause 1 of the LiSSR [Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Resolution of 30 September 1989 "Partial Alteration of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Resolution of 18 May 1989 'Preparation of Draft Laws on the Election of Deputies of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet and Deputies of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the LiSSR and Also Fixing of the Elections to These Soviets'" and fix the elections of deputies of local soviets of people's deputies of the LiSSR for Saturday, 24 March 1990.

2. In accordance with Article 15 of the Law on Elections of the Deputies of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies of the LiSSR, to charge the local soviets of people's deputies of the republic with having determined before 23 December of the current year the number of deputies to be elected to each soviet of people's deputies and the okrugs to be formed on its territory.

3. To instruct the republic Electoral Commission for Elections of Deputies of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet to exercise also the authority of republic electoral commission for elections of deputies of local soviets of people's deputies.

4. To determine that the electoral districts and district electoral commissions are the same for the elections of deputies of the 12th LiSSR Supreme Soviet and deputies of local soviets of people's deputies of the LiSSR.

5. To determine that in the rayons in which, in accordance with the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution of 22 June 1988 "Further Improvement of the System of Soviets of People's Deputies of the LiSSR" and the Resolution of 25 January 1989 "Further Improvement of the Structure of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the LiSSR," the rayon soviets of people's deputies and the city (in rayon centers) soviets of people's deputies were converted into rayon soviets of people's deputies; city (cities of rayon jurisdiction) soviets of people's deputies and apilinka [village] soviets of people's deputies, into city and apilinka soviets of people's deputies; and community soviets of people's deputies and apilinka soviets of people's deputies, into community and apilinka soviets of people's deputies, converted soviets of people's deputies be elected.

6. This resolution, with the exception of Clause 2, takes effect as of 24 December of the current year.

[Signed]cV. Astrauskas, chairman of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and L. Sabutis, secretary of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Vilnius, 7 December 1989.
ews 20th Congress

90UN0587B Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 12 Dec 89 p 1

[Interview with Vladimir Berezov, second secretary of Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by unidentified ELTA correspondent: "On Eve of Lithuanian Communist Party Congress"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Just a week remains until the special 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. How are the preparations going?

[Berezov] I would like to mention first of all the great assertiveness of the Communists. The editorial offices, television and radio, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, and other party committees are receiving a large number of letters and proposals. Meetings of the delegates elected to the congress are being held, the most urgent problems are being discussed, and positions are being clarified. Various platforms are gradually coming to light, although even the majority of Communists cleaving to different positions is emphasizing that common points of contact need to be found and a split avoided.

In accordance with tradition, a Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum, at which discussion of the political report and specification of the agenda are scheduled, will be held prior to the congress. We intend to invite not only members of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee but also the first secretaries of raykoms and gorkoms [rayon and city party committees] and members of the committee for the preparation of the congress.

[Correspondent] The Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet's 15th Session reworded Article 6 of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution. What, following this, has changed in Lithuania, in the activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party?

[Berezov] What had in recent months existed de facto has been enshrined in law. The constitutional legalization of political pluralism and the multiparty system are a significant step forward en route to democracy and the law-based state. It should be noted that this idea emerged particularly keenly in the process of preparation for the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, although the proposals concerning a change in this article were put forward by various political forces. Whatever the case, Communists constitute approximately 80 percent of LiSSR Supreme Soviet deputies; and it was they who cast their vote for the constitutional amendment.

I would like to remind you that the wording concerning the leading role of the CPSU appeared in the Constitution only in 1976. What is important is not declaring the leading role but confirming the authority of the Lithuanian Communist Party by actual activity. The Lithuanian Communist Party has in fact been and remains the strongest, most popular party in the republic, which has a majority in parliament, which has shaped the state authorities, and which thereby retains power.

It is also important that the Lithuanian Communist Party renounced the leading role recorded in the Constitution on the eve of the 20th Congress and prior to the elections to the LiSSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets. Our party is prepared for honest competition with other political forces, with which we seek and will continue to seek ways of cooperation for the good of Lithuania. There is no reason to grieve over the fact that the Communist Party has since the modification of Article 6 lost power and authority. In my opinion, this step has, on the contrary, done the Lithuanian Communist Party a good turn and created conditions more conducive to an enhancement of its authority. This will depend on the Communists themselves, however, and on the creative specific actions of us all.

Latvians Send Messages of Support to Lithuania

LD1001230490 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Telegrams and letters are still being sent from Latvia to Lithuania ('expressing) support for the people of Lithuania on their road to independence. For example, approximately 25 telegrams every hour arrived today at the Sajudis restructuring movement.

We received a telephone call from (Romalds Lezuks), chairman of the Lithuanian Culture Society of Latvia, who is in Vilnius and who will speak tomorrow at a meeting of all the people of Lithuania. In the name of the members of Sajudis, he thanked those citizens of Latvia who have expressed their fraternal support.

Baltic Officials Interviewed on Gorbachev Visit

AU1001220090 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Interview with Virgil Cepaytis, secretary general of Lithuanian Sajudis movement, and Johann Danos, nuclear scientist and member of the Latvian-German Cultural Organization, by Elmar Oberhauser in Vienna 10 January—live]

[Excerpt] [Oberhauser] Tonight, I have two guests from the Baltic republics, Lithuania and Latvia: Mr Virgil Cepaytis, general secretary of Sayudis, that is the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroyka, the movement that initiated and supports all those reforms; and Dr Johann Danos, of the Latvian-German Cultural Organization, a nuclear scientist by profession, but apart from that he also does many other things. The two gentlemen are here in Vienna because tomorrow, Thursday, and on Friday, they will participate in a roundtable sponsored by the Austrian People's Party.

Mr Cepaytis, the world is looking at Lithuania with great interest. State and party chief Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to arrive there tomorrow. What can he expect in Lithuania?

[Cepaytis] Excuse my poor German, the last time I used it was during the war. I talked today on the telephone with friends in Vilnius, and my colleagues from Sajudis told me that it is possible that Gorbachev will not go to Vilnius.

[Oberhauser] Why not? People here believe that he will go there tomorrow and hold talks.

[Cepaytis] Yes, but tomorrow there will be a big demonstration in Vilnius with 500,000 participants. I don't think Gorbachev would like that.

[Oberhauser] Gorbachev is regarded in Austria as a man of great courage. Do you think he's afraid of these demonstrators or the demonstrations that have been announced?

[Cepaytis] This demonstration has special accents. Maybe my Latvian friend can help out.

[Oberhauser] I have to explain to my viewers that, before this program began, Mr Cepaytis asked Mr Danos to act as a kind of interpreter because he was afraid that his German might not be well understood. Thank you very much for coming, anyway. Mr Danos, what can Gorbachev expect tomorrow? Why do some people assume that he might not go there tomorrow?

[Danos] I must say in short that we are absolutely in union with the Lithuanian movement, and I believe that I can really intervene here and help my colleague out, and explain how we see things in the Baltics. Gorbachev might simply fear losing prestige with the other Soviet states.

[Oberhauser] Do you think that he's afraid that he might lose face? Is this what you want to say?

[Danos] Yes, of course. It is probably useless, anyway. It is not a revolt, there is no need to calm the people. It is not a question of solving a problem through the appearance of a certain man who makes a few smart statements. A process is under way there that is progressing independent of Gorbachev or any other functionaries. Great changes are taking place in the entire USSR, and the Baltic states are only the vanguard. [passage omitted]

Vyalyas Address to Estonian Party Plenum

90UN0538 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Dec 89 pp 1-3

[Speech by V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, CPE, at 16th Plenum of the CPE Central Committee: "On the Political Situation in the Republic and the Convening of the 20th CPE Congress"]

[Text] Comrade members of the Central Committee of the CPE [Communist Party of Estonia]!

The time has come to figure out what we have accomplished in implementing our strategic goals and what the situation and possibilities of further development are.

Obviously we should begin with the fact that the party is being criticized from all sides. It is being reproached for passivity and a decline of authority. The same thing caused us concern 14 months ago during the September 1988 Plenum. At that time, analyzing the basic causes of the crisis of the summer of 1988, we came to the conclusion that the decline of the authority of the CPE and its leadership was brought about by its inability to achieve a correct orientation in the new, rapidly changing situation and to solve problems. At that same plenum we came to the conclusion that we needed discussion within the party in order to develop a program of actions capable of uniting the basic political forces of the society.

Discussion of party renewal is in full swing. The CPE has tried to take into account the constructive ideas of influential social movements in its activity and to balance the ever more clearly manifested diversity of interests in our society. Even with all the contradictoriness and tension we were able to provide for relatively peaceful development. We avoided creating the image of an enemy.

At the September plenum it was decided that the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" must be realized without wasting any time. We did this beginning with 16 November of last year. Of course the CPE as a political party must defend its general policy, which is based on the politics of renewal. But it ceased to impose its party decisions on state questions or to exert a political influence either on the activity of power organs or on the government through its representatives, as is done in all democratic countries. Intraparty pluralism is best manifested in the activity of our parliamentary groups. The party respects the right of the communist deputies to act in keeping with their personal convictions.

Objectively, the CPE is now the most tolerant force on the political map of the republic with respect to people who think differently.

One of the major issues at the 11th Plenum was Estonia's path to sovereignty. How far have we traveled along this path? A Declaration of Sovereignty has been adopted, the events of 1940 have been assessed, and there has been legislative recognition of the economic independence of the Baltic republics by the USSR Supreme Soviet. On 27 July the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decree concerning the economic accountability of the Baltic states. We achieved the first legislative recognition of our sovereignty in the USSR Supreme Soviet—economic independence. Let us be fair, the role of M.S. Gorbachev and his close allies was essential in this.

What did this do? The whole world has seen that we have striven for victory in a parliamentary way and have achieved our end. But even more significant, perhaps, is the fact that both in the USSR and in the West this step strengthened belief in Estonia's political development. There is no doubt that it has been very important for the entire process of renewal.

At the September plenum I noted that our aspirations were supported in the high party leadership but that it would take time to realize them. The realization of any new undertaking takes a good deal of time and effort, as does the entire process of perestroyka.

In a word, we are moving toward our goal, and it should be clear to everyone that only in conjunction with the progressive forces in Moscow and the union republics will be able to achieve sovereignty. It can only be the result of consistent and hard political work and not effective declarations.

One could argue that we have not really achieved much along the path to real sovereignty. But I can say with confidence that everything that actually has been achieved is the result of the support of the majority of the people of Estonia and the balanced policy of the republic's deputies and leadership who would not allow a schism in Estonia.

Indeed we have worked toward strengthening real political pluralism, where by all movements, including the officially unregistered National Independence Party and Intermovement, have operated openly and without any restrictions.

As a result of this policy Estonia's political development is entering a new stage. There has been a clearcut division of forces and factions according to their political views and also a unification of certain forces in pre-election alliances which arose in Tallinn, Pyarnu, and other places. The elections of new members of the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet will be held soon.

The times require that we take resolute coordinated actions with respect to all the most important political issues. This is why our plenum was convened.

The opposing positions revealed recently in the CPE are evoking serious concern, confusion, and a sense of danger in its members. Some of them, having lost confidence, have withdrawn from the ranks of the party and there have even been cases of collective withdrawal, and the leaders of certain enterprises and farms have turned in their party cards. The party, which has a monopoly on power, has appeared in all of its multifacetedness: Some communists are calling for a boycott of the elections, others are registering in citizens' committees, and still others are accusing both of the former and are intending to found new parties.

The discussion of the CPE program of action has given party organizations an opportunity to consider the current situation, but it has also taught us a bitter lesson. In the draft presented for discussion many party members did not find answers to the questions that are bothering them the most. All this characterizes the real situation in our party. One arrives at the conviction that we cannot proceed any further as long as we keep all kinds of extremes within the party, are tolerant toward them, and are constantly calling for consolidation.

I think we must radically deepen the transformations in the CPE and discuss this at the beginning of next year at a special practical-theoretical conference of the CPE. This could be a decisive step on the path to the congress of the Communist Party of Estonia.

In our concrete efforts on the path to perestroyka and in our struggle against anti-perestroyka conservative forces in a situation where many of our principles are taken as nationalist egoism and separatism, the republic leadership has proceeded from the interests of the majority of the people. We can count on confidence only to the extent that the leadership is able to protect the interests of Estonia and find a concrete way for them to partake in M.S. Gorbachev's policy. The most important thing the CPE can and should provide is a positive program to lead Estonia out of its crisis. In overcoming their difficulties—and they are considerable—the people link their hopes to the current republic leadership and the party as a real force.

It is a fact that the ESSR Supreme Soviet is working under the influence of very diverse social movements and should take all the positive ideas from them. What is the party's attitude toward these movements?

So far the CPE has given a negative evaluation to the movement of the citizens' committees of Estonia. Our clearcut attitude has proceeded from that fact that one of the initiators of the creation of the committees was the PNNE [Estonian National Independence Party], which declared on 20 August 1989 in its program that it was wrong for the Supreme Soviet and the government of the ESSR to exist as legal representatives of the Estonian people. In spite of the extremely contradictory statements of various leaders, the goal proclaimed by the movement of citizens' committees and the Estonian congress was to form alternative power organs, so-called "legitimate representation of the Estonian people," who would then apply to the United Nations and enter into negotiations with the USSR Government. The CPE has nothing to do with this unrealistic idea or the idea that only the citizens of the Estonian republic and their posterity have a right to decide the fate of Estonia.

As one can see from the commentaries on the meeting of the main committee of the KGE [Estonian Citizens' Committee] held in Loksa, the movement decided to change the basic postulates of its activity. The goal of the Estonian congress now is to apply to the future republic Supreme Soviet as a group that expresses the demands of the citizens of the Estonian republic and their heirs concerning the restoration of statehood. The movement, hungry for power, has been transformed into a pressure group, of which there are always plenty in any normal parliamentary society.

The union of Estonian labor collectives hopes to reach the same goal through convening a congress of all deputies of local soviets who will be elected on 10 December.

The Estonian People's Front and the Estonian Democratic Movement are promoting the idea of a referendum in order to clarify the attitude of the people of Estonia toward the question of state independence.

Setting aside the question of how actually representative all these congresses and referendums are, one should say that all of them proceed from the assumption that the

real will of the Estonian people has not been clarified and the public of the Soviet Union and the entire world have not been informed of it. One gets the impression that the Estonian people and the figures in world politics have been kept ignorant for decades. No, they have been living in the real world.

Let us call a spade a spade. The ESSR Supreme Soviet announced on 12 November that Estonia's entry into the USSR in 1940 did not reflect the expression of the free will of the Estonian people. The Estonian people have always been aware of this, and members of the State Duma who made the decision in 1940 knew it, too. They discussed this on a recent television program. The fact that every people wishes to live under the conditions of its own statehood is such an indisputable, elementary truth that it is senseless to hold congresses and referendums to clarify it. The problem is not that but how to achieve the kind of statehood that would correspond to the real vital interests of the people. It is a problem of the circumstances for adopting one decision or another and providing for truly free expression of will.

The meeting that took place a couple of days ago on the shores of Malta showed that the political realities of the modern world determine the process of perestroyka in the USSR and there is no way to justify ignoring this in conducting local politics.

To ignore this reality and fool people with the illusion that the determination of the fate of Estonia is a one-time act that depends only on us and all we have to do is gather the largest amount of signatures, convene congresses and sign resolutions is to draw people into an irresponsible battle for power, which will only lead us further away from the achievement of real sovereignty.

The desire of the Estonian people for independence could be manifested now mainly because there appeared in the Soviet Union and the CPSU the prerequisites for the recognition and exercise of the rights of nations to real self-determination and the basis for a thorough restructuring of the unitary state.

On the large plane, Estonian society is now divided into two parts. Those who promise illusory independence and those who, step by step, are achieving real independence. With the slogan of illusory independence, which is extremely attractive emotionally, it is possible to lead the masses into rapture for a certain amount of time and win personal popularity and a place in the parliament. But the most obvious result of this will be a loss of all possible allies outside Estonia and extreme aggravation of ethnic relations within Estonia along with an internal and external economic blockade and, in the final analysis, fatal danger for M.S. Gorbachev's entire policy of perestroyka, for which we would not be forgiven either by the external world or by our descendants for in so doing we would destroy any hope of securing independence and national rebirth. Such are the real dangers one finds on the path chosen today by the citizens' committees of Estonia and, unfortunately, certain other movements as well.

The other path is the path of active support for M.S. Gorbachev's foreign and domestic policy and consistent expansion and strengthening of our true independence. This is the path of IME [self-managing Estonia] which makes it possible to acquire allies, this is the path of economic, political, and intraparty reforms which we have proposed and tested, the path being followed by the entire Soviet Union. This will lead to a radical change in the situation throughout the world, it will provide independence and security for Estonia, and it will create a renewed union from which it will be possible to withdraw if such a need does indeed arise. Such is the path of the Communist Party of Estonia and the People's Front.

The Estonian people will have their say in the elections to local soviets on 10 December and the elections to the ESSR Supreme Soviet on 18 March. Neither committees of citizens nor referendums are needed for this. The ESSR Supreme Soviet is competent to decide whether to remain in or withdraw from the Soviet Union. But the people must have all the information in order to make a correct choice. The people cannot be deceived endlessly since this leads to apathy and indifference. I assure you today from this podium that the current leadership of Estonia is doing everything possible to ensure the free development of our people, their economy, and their culture, to provide for free economic and political ties with the union republics and with the whole world, to ensure all civil rights, to eliminate ethnic tensions, and to ensure equal rights of all nationalities and true democracy. I hope that the people will express in the ballot boxes their support for precisely those candidates who through their honesty and reasonable activity are willing and able to provide for peaceful positive development in the direction we have chosen in the name of creating a better future for Estonia.

When organizing the elections we deliberately refrained from the so-called apparatus pressure we inherited from the past. Unfortunately, you cannot say the same thing about certain movements which openly tell the voters whom to vote for.

By now, in the program documents of the social movements of pro-Estonian orientation one can clearly see the idea of statehood as the basis of a national ideology. It would be highly expedient for all of these movements to refrain from attempts to determine the deadlines for withdrawal from the Soviet Union and enter into the real construction of independent statehood. We have practically not even started to create an economic base for the future Estonia. We need to demonstrate that we are capable of creating a dynamically developing economy. If we are incapable of doing this then neither the West nor the East will take us seriously. We must go forward without internal discord or political speculation. Against this background the statements of the leaders of our largest association of labor collectives to the effect that it

makes no difference whether the IME is realized or not sound quite dramatic. This is by no means a matter of indifference to a person to whom the Estonia's destiny is dear. It is here that one can see the line that separates political calculations from real love for the fatherland. At the same time we should emphasize once again that the prerequisites for constructive cooperation among various movements exist. The construction of an economically independent Estonia presupposes full utilization of the spiritual potential and economic possibilities of both People's Front and the union of labor collectives and the agrarian union on behalf of our common goals. The law on the economic independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania adopted in Moscow created the prerequisites for enlisting the OSTK [United Labor Collective Council] in the construction of the economic foundation of Estonia. We can be sure that the union enterprises will not stand on the sidelines here. From the standpoint of further development of the republic this would be a great victory. For all of us together and for the collectives of the union enterprises as well.

In spite of the fact that from the names of both movements, the OSTK and STK [Labor Collective Council], one can deduce that they represent the workers and the economic circles of Estonia, unfortunately so far there is no real indication that they have taken up economic issues in earnest. Rather, on the contrary, they are increasingly playing politics. Like other movements, the leaders of the OSTK and STK have tried to define their idea of the future Estonia. But they have not said a word about which economic and social transformations will guarantee this future. So it turns out that the attitude of the two movements toward the IME are fairly similar, since the leaders of the OSTK also consider the IME to be a short-term political campaign which is only indirectly related to Estonia's real economic problems.

If one is to speak generally about the movements and associations that deliberately work against the interests of Estonia and try in all ways to impede the republic's development, one of the first to be mentioned should be the leadership of Intermovement and the strike committees and those who side with them. The main weapon of their leaders is fanning anti-Estonian hysteria. This is the way it has been so far. But now they will have to deal with the fact that the concept of Estonia's economic independence is not a "nationalistic absurdity" but a law officially adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

When evaluating the role of the aforementioned movements in today's politics in Estonia we must be aware that party members comprise a considerable part of their aktiv. We must understand the doubts that disturb their souls. Indeed, what are many of our non-Estonian communists to think now? They think approximately this: First of all I am a member of the CPSU and only after that am I in the CPE. If the lines of the CPSU and the CPE diverge in some way, I support the CPSU. The second train of thought: I have always been for the great and unified homeland and Estonia's aspiration for sovereignty, as I see it, undermines its integrity. In this case, how can I support such aspirations?

We agree that there is a certain amount of logic here. We cannot ignore this kind of thinking. Our mistake is that we have not yet been able to sufficiently take into account the different understandings of party members of various nationalities—and not only them—of the paths of Estonian development and we have allowed conservative political forces to speculate on people's feelings and gain political capital. The question here depends largely on the perception of perestroyka, democratization of the society, and decentralization of power. We cannot simply reject the ideal of a unitary state that has become entrenched over decades. Changes in the society cause a breakdown of confidence but it is obviously in our common interests to change the structure and system that led to today's crisis. We must rid ourselves of the baggage of the past. A person who feels unconfident today hangs on to what he is used to which, under today's conditions, is the old, from which the society as a whole and not just Estonia is trying to relieve itself.

We should like to hope that the Russian communists who are bothered by internal doubts will be able to overcome the psychological barrier that has arisen and understand the dialectic of the current alarming period. Estonia's sovereignty is needed not only by Estonians, but by everyone who is associated with the fate of Estonia. Estonia's desire for sovereignty is at the same time a desire for the renewal of our entire federation. If we think about this more deeply we shall discover that there are no contradictions here.

The same thing pertains to the reorganization of party construction. In the party itself as well there should be more freedom and more confidence in the local organizations. At the same time there should be more responsibility, discipline, and comradeship. If the positions of the CPE Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee differ with respect to what is going on, we need dialogue, an exchange of opinions, and a gradual convergence of viewpoints. This is a normal process and it is indeed taking place. Much of what we suggested quite recently was not understood and today it has become generally accepted. The old principle that the truth is to be found only in the highest instance and those lower down can only obey is no longer in effect under current conditions.

Now Intermovement and the forces related to it are urging a boycott of the elections. Is this reasonable? Obviously, all sound-minded citizens of Estonia will agree that legitimate interests must be protected on a legitimate basis. The person who wants his interests to be represented will elect the deputy who will defend these interests. The person who digs in his heels and will not elect a representative to the local soviet deprives himself of this possibility. Certain party workers are also opposed to the elections to organs of Soviet power. I

should like to give them a strong warning about their responsibility for this kind of action. Soviet organs will be elected more and more equally, but who will be supported by the people who are speaking out against them?

As concerns the idea of Intermovement and its allies to hold elections to local power organs through the production collectives, the newspaper IZVESTIYA for 2 December reported how a session of the Leningrad Gorsovet [city soviet] especially convened at the request of the United Worker Front rejected this idea as antidemocratic.

The second forced plan of Intermovement envisions dividing Estonia up. Is this an attempt to repeat the scenario of 1939-1940? Nor is it clear for whom—for the Russians, the Ukrainians, or representatives of 40 other nationalities represented in the republic—the national-territorial autonomy is being achieved. Do they really want to take on the role of colonists in the age-old home of the Estonians? There is a good deal of evidence to indicate that reason will win out here and people will get beyond this hysteria.

The paradox and danger of the situation consist in that the conservative populism of Intermovement and the strike committee is concealed by slogans for the protection of socialism and Soviet power, which—not surprisingly—are supported by a certain number of workers whose lives, like the lives of all the people, are becoming more and more difficult. In many, mainly Russian-speaking, collectives this is exacerbated by the lack of faith in the future which is being fanned on national grounds. Thus the conservative forces have gone over to the counterattack throughout the country and are trying at any price to incline the center toward the application of repressive measures against the progressive wing.

How does one return people's faith in the future? We shall start to do this through the implementation of the IME, real independence of the enterprises, and reform of local self-management. Are the leaders of Intermovement not attacking the concept of economic independence so furiously simply because it threatens to undermine their social base?

The democratic political process presupposes the creation of unions. This year our policy is based on joint activity. The union of labor collectives, the society for the protection of monuments of antiquity, and other groupings have called for the creation of a Home Front. In the name of independence and against Moscow. Such a "simple" and "lofty" formula. But anybody with common sense understands that force will resolve nothing. At this time the law is not in such favor that it can unravel all knots. Sober thinking and peasant stubbornness and composure remain. Therefore, the acquisition of independence must be regarded as a process. Various movements and social forces see independence in extremely different ways, and these contradictions are certainly not so simple to resolve.

Another thing. The idea of a Home Front actually leaves to one side the interests of the non-Estonian population living here and obviously in this case we cannot speak about a serious policy. Now, after the adoption of the IME in Moscow, it should be obvious to all sober-minded politicians that our real independence will be achieved not in the battle against Moscow, but in our alliance with all the perestroyka forces of the country. We need very much the help of local non-Estonians. We need only trust one another and then the non-Estonian democrats will defend Estonia's sovereignty and the Estonian democrats will do everything possible to make sure that the ethnic minorities are never discriminated against in any way. We all need a common front in order to achieve Estonia's real independence.

A realistic policy is distinguished from adventurism precisely by the feeling of responsibility for the situation in the society and the prospects for its development. This is why realists select the path which will necessarily lead to the earmarked goal, although this path is frequently more difficult and in some ways unpopular. But we must not sacrifice the fundamental interests of our people for the sake of narrow group interests or effective ideological constructs. We have a large enough burden of sad experience to convince us of that, which other movements do not have.

The 11th Plenum of the CPE Central Committee considered it necessary to create political and legal guarantees of free development of rural life and agriculture.

Having proclaimed the revitalization of the Estonian rural areas as one of our goals at the 11th Plenum, today we can in no way support the destructive devices using force to achieve these goals. Even a couple of weeks ago one could hear the demands of the groupings presenting themselves as radicals for collective farms, that is that the kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] should be declared illegal and their right to use the land should be abolished beginning in 1990. Behind the external effect of the rhetoric, without hiding the demagoguery, these groups are trying to conceal the fact that they want to conduct the forthcoming land reform once again using force. Having proclaimed a monopoly on the absolute truth, they are fighting against the Stalinist legacy with essentially neo-Stalinist methods. Again the one who suffers is the peasant, who has fed us all these decades, and who has always had less on his own table.

Even with the first steps in the direction of the IME there appeared a new and extremely serious contradiction between the economic and spiritual interests of the society. The attention of the congress of the Union of Writers, which recently completed its work, was drawn to this and this was written about in articles published in the press concerning questions of spiritual life. We recently had a discussion of this with the secretaries of party organizations of creative unions. This causes alarm. The intelligentsia were the instigators of perestroyka. They have always reflected the true aspirations

of the people and have been the people's conscience. In the process of perestroyka they have largely managed to stay above the narrow group contradictions. Therefore, their warning should be regarded not as an overemphasis on group interests but as a disclosure of a stumbling stone on which we might trip.

We have entered a new stage in the implementation of the IME, the stage of practical actions. The creation of the internal prerequisites for the IME is not at the center of our policy. We plan to adopt more than 200 laws. But some people seem to have the idea that the laws will have a spontaneous effect. But even the most advanced idea and the most far-sighted plan will sooner or later run up against the old power structures which the current transformations have not yet seriously touched upon. Consequently, the main prerequisite for implementing the IME is seen to be a radical breakdown of the power relations inherited from the stagnant society and also the adoption of active anticrisis measures. As we have already noted at the 15th Plenum of the CPE Central Committee, the main means here is decentralization of all spheres of social life, above all through land reform and reform of ownership and control. One must also understand that no reform of the society, even the most progressive one, can be imposed from the outside; they all must directly reflect the real interests of the people, the producers, and the communities (regions), and must grow out of them. Real reforms can take place only from below to above. In this sense decentralization or, more precisely, the breakdown of monopolies on power is a necessary prerequisite for the introduction of IME.

When building the new Estonia we must proceed from the idea that the main power is the free individual, and the stable home and society and not vice versa. A stable policy can rely on an independent worker and owner, in other words, on a positive economic interest. The constructive policy of perestroyka is built on expansion of its social base. Here we are hoping for a broad united front since local structures are the basis of independence.

The first real step on the path to decentralization of power relations are the elections to the local soviets, the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet, and also the adoption of a law on elections according to which in the elections to the ESSR Supreme Soviet there will be an increased proportion of deputies directly representing the cities and rayons. At first glance this seems to be an undemocratic step and it has become the object of sharp criticism in certain circles, but it creates the prerequisites for an essential expansion of the real social base of the parliament. Therefore we are actually dealing with a democratic step here. The new parliament will inevitably assume the image of a young (unstable and imperfect) democracy. But now there is no doubt that what will come to the foreground in its activity are problems of our real everyday development which are frequently forgotten in the rush to solve problems of policy. This is also the first real political step in the representation of the interests of all parts of Estonia and in the construction of the future Estonia.

No less important from the standpoint of the formation of prerequisites for the IME is the implementation of a tax and budget reform which is directed toward decentralization of management and also the implementation of a land reform which provides for a real diversity and equality of forms of ownership. Let us say frankly that the current plans for a tax and budget reform do not contribute to this.

The local (volost or uyezd) budget should become truly independent. Through it we must redistribute a large part of the national income. Self-management will be feasible when we begin to consistently realize this principle: Everything that can be resolved in the local areas should be turned over to the local authorities. Consequently, as a result of the new budget policy, a large share of the social problems and problems of maintaining law and order, not to mention problems of the local market and production, should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the local power organs.

The realization of IME also presupposes a changeover to a truly democratic, tolerant policy. The monopoly of one party that claims to have the ultimate truth should disappear from our policy. The CPE recognizes that the vital interests of the people are above the interests of any party or group. Therefore it supports the abolition of article 6 of the Constitution. But at the same time it is necessary to create solid legal guarantees to prevent the appearance of a monopoly on power for any other party. The CPE proceeds from the idea that in Estonia there is no single political force which would be able to lead Estonia out of the crisis.

We must approach all of today's problems in exactly the same way. In order to solve problems of rural areas and agriculture we have created an agrarian soviet where various political forces are cooperating effectively. In the near future it is planned to convene a plenum of the CPE Central Committee on the agrarian issue. We are preparing to have this plenum be a joint discussion with the participation of the CPE, the agrarian union, the central union of khutor residents, the People's Front, the STKE, the OSTK, and others. The plenum need not necessarily have complete unanimity regarding all issues. But it should achieve unity and readiness for coalition in the party of all forces who are seriously concerned about rural affairs.

The pluralism of the political forces of Estonia would be incomplete without the representation of the interests of the workers in the policy. In this regard we are placing special hope in Estonian trade unions in which the movement for reform has become much more active recently. Instead of the trade unions that have existed up to the present and which have been a part of the power apparatus, there should be new organizations that are independent of ideological and economic institutions and are capable of defending the socioeconomic interests of the workers and expressing only the will of their members.

A difficult time of change has come for the trade unions. The party supports the trade union aktiv in its efforts to transform the current organization in such a way that it can become an independent and influential force along with the government and the economic organs in solving all socioeconomic and other problems pertaining to the interests of the workers.

Only with a unified front that expresses the will of the people is it possible to strengthen the incipient democracy and overcome the cheap populist policy with its squabbles and its ways of fooling the people.

Along with the implementation of the IME we must not forget about the guarantees for other steps toward Estonian sovereignty. It would seem that here, too, possibilities are opening up for us to cooperate namely with the democratic forces of the entire Soviet Union. We all remember the alarm we felt because of past changes in the USSR Constitution related to the changes in the electoral system and how much energy it took to express our viewpoint. Now our positions, which at that time seemed unacceptable and alien to many, are fairly widely recognized. Consequently some of our other ideas that have originated in recent years can also be brought to light at the union level.

What do I have in mind? A fairly large number of such ideas, which are familiar to us now, were expressed at the first meeting of the constitution commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, where there was an exchange of opinions about the concept of the new USSR Constitution. I think the time has now come to bring them up again, systematize them, and submit them to the constitution commission. Thus we shall be participating in the formation of the future union. Legal experts from our republic have made a large contribution to legislative support for perestroyka. Let us collaborate here in the interests of guaranteeing the future both when drawing up the republic constitution and with the union constitution commission.

In order for our suggestions to the constitution commission to express the broadest possible range of interests and opinions of residents of Estonia and the social movements, it would obviously be expedient to create a corresponding association under the Supreme Soviet with the participation of representatives of all social movements interested in guaranteeing Estonia's sovereignty. This would be a regular parliamentary step on the path to our independence.

Today we cannot sidestep crucial intraparty issues either, mainly the ones linked to the future of the CPE and the need to convene a congress.

Obviously all participants in the plenum are unanimous in the opinion that we are on the threshold of large qualitative changes in society. Prerequisites for Estonia's development are recognition and guarantees of sovereignty by union state and party organizations and simultaneous restructuring of its economic and political system.

Actually, political pluralism is smoothly growing into democracy, which is based on the organization of political forces in the form of parties. From all appearances after the elections to the republic Supreme Soviet there will begin a real changeover to a system in which the movements will be ever more broadly constituted.

We all need to understand the logic of the development: The process of democratization in society has opened up the way to the manifestation of the initiative of the people and pluralism of views.

Ideological pluralism in the party ranks has always existed in principle. But it could not be openly expressed in the past. Many people with very different views and political aspirations have entered the party ranks. There are honest workers among us but there are also careerists, Stalinists, Euro-communists, and bearers of social democratic, socialist, and general democratic views.

In spite of the differences in their views, the majority have entered the party in order to participate actively in sociopolitical life. Previously this was possible only by belonging to the Communist Party. It was quite predictable that the 1977 Constitution would reinforce the party's leading role. But when building a law-governed state and developing democracy we should recognize that the authority of the Communist Party of Estonia and its influence in society can only be based on a policy that is supported by the people.

While rejecting a monopoly on power we must anticipate the possibility of the appearance of new political movements, and in different ways—both on a social and ideological basis and on the grounds of group interests. Naturally, certain political groups might leave the CPE itself. The CPE Central Committee, based on the interests of the republic, takes into account the alignment of real forces both in society and in the party itself.

The constitutional reinforcement of the diversity of political forces creates legitimate foundations for the formation of coalitions that hold similar positions. We cannot be in a hurry here either; we must establish legislatively the results of a natural process.

Many communists, feeling the influence of the aforementioned processes, want to establish the political plane as quickly as possible. Some want to leave the CPE as soon as possible and create new parties. The spectrum is broad—from the social democrats to the conservatives (it would be more correct to say to the neo-Stalinists). Unfortunately the struggle between democratic and conservative forces taking place in the union arena is frequently given a national coloring without justification—thus the ideological differences are represented as an opposition of ethnic interests. Therefore some of the conservative communists regard the objective contradictions of society as a struggle between internationalists and nationalists. On the other hand we can ask the radical members of the party: How will the breakdown of the perestroyka forces among the proposed parties affect the leadership of society?

The current power devices of the political movements and their—to put it mildly—not altogether ethical actions cause alarm. We must think seriously about how to form democratic mechanisms in society and provide for the social equality of all categories of residents. At the general meeting of the union of labor collectives they advanced a typical slogan of the bourgeoisie: They elevated the rich and honest person. In all times life itself has shortened this slogan: Money decides everything. The alternative press does not show special respect for culture and ethics. All this is placed on the politicians who in a burst of personal ambition destroy left-wing forces and any special responsibility.

In the existing political situation the CPE Central Committee considers it unethical and politically short-sighted to withdraw from the party. On the contrary, it is necessary to do everything possible to transform it into a truly democratic party, to develop program and regulation issues of the CPE, and to determine its platform and status by the 28th CPSU Congress. On the basis of these documents adopted by the congress everyone will have the opportunity to take a stand with respect to the CPE. All party members should participate in the election. We shall not draw limits until we are completely sure what they mean.

In essence we are speaking about creating in Estonia a new type of party which will operate under the conditions of political and economic pluralism. Along with ideological and theoretical issues it is necessary to solve problems of organizational work, structure, forms, and methods. In the future party there can be no complete uniformity of views since with the development of democracy in the society there will inevitably be differences of opinions within the party as well. Right-wing or left-wing views and opposition will be manifested regarding various issues. Various opinions will also arise during the stage of execution. But intraparty democracy obviously has its limits as well. Party unity of actions, discipline, and especially ethics will acquire significance again. Otherwise there is no meaning in any democracy or pluralism of opinions. But how does one provide for unity of actions and party discipline? I think a large amount of responsibility here lies with local party organizations. For they are still the main advocates of party policy in the labor collectives.

We must revise the sources of party income and items of expenditures. Curtailing the centralist management principle in the party raises questions that need to be developed. Will the central party line be the result of intraparty compromises or will it be necessary to look for support in the theoretical interpretation of practice? What does one do in a situation where one extreme wants to separate and the other wants to take over the power? Should the centrist forces take a third path? How does one regard all these processes in connection with the unionwide contradictions and plans for restructuring the CPSU? There is a good deal that is debatable here and the solution will have to be found at the CPE Congress.

I personally am convinced that the nature of the party and the success of all its work will be determined by the people in it. The qualitative composition of the party, its intellectual potential, and its ability to communicate with the people and express their interests—these are ultimately the main and decisive things.

Many communists think that we should also discuss a concept of socialism that takes into account the specific features of the republic because without scientific substantiation the discussion can degenerate into assigning labels and creating an image of an enemy. Certain city and rayon party organizations consider it necessary for the CPE to have its own regulations, and the CPSU could become a union of republic communist parties with equal rights on a federalist basis. A considerable number of party organizations are against this and suggest democratizing the existing structure of the CPSU. In essence the discussion will begin in January 1990 when the Central Committee platform is published. It is very important for members of the CPE to participate actively in it and not throw up their hands over all the complicated party problems because they do not want to trouble themselves or because of personal ambitions. In essence there is a struggle over which ideas to resume in the ruling party and what the prospects for the republic's development are, and which paths can be taken to realize them. Certain party organizations have decided to halt their activity. By doing this they want to exert pressure on the CPE Central Committee. At today's plenum we are suggesting that party organizations refrain from such methods and actively engage in the preparations for the 20th CPE Congress. Nor can we arbitrarily fulfill the requirements of the CPSU Regulations with respect to collecting membership dues since the party congress will decide regulation issues. We shall discuss this at the next congress.

It is clear that there will be no place for a one party monopoly on power in the future society. Therefore, it is quite natural that many social movements and also a number of local party organizations and party gorkoms [city committees] and raykoms [rayon committees] are working to abolish Article 6 of the Constitution. As I have already said, this is a correct position that deserves attention.

But let us take a broader look at the condition of our society. For it is not simply a matter of abolishing one article of the Constitution. First we must develop legislation that reflects the democratic foundations of the law-governed state and provides for normal functioning of the Constitution. This problem is facing the USSR Supreme Soviet as well.

The question of discussing the sixth paragraph of the Constitution was not included on the agenda for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which was recently approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet, because it lacked three votes. Here it should be noted that only four of the 13 members of the Supreme Soviet from our

republic were in the hall at the time when this question was voted on and nine were absent.

Let us not be naive. Apparently there are plenty of people who, after Article 6 is abolished, will rub their hands and be glad that the Communist Party itself rejected a constitutional monopoly on power. Consequently, along with the abolition of this article it will be necessary to make other changes in the basic law as well. First of all it will be necessary to construct general foundations for the political movements (of the parties).

In order to give constitutional power it is necessary to have a legitimate, democratic, and effective state organ to which this power can be transferred. We think that this successor should be local self-management and a democratically elected ESSR Supreme Soviet which represents all the interests of the society, which we shall receive in March of next year. Thus we shall bring to its logical conclusion the idea expressed at the September 1988 plenum of transferring party power to soviets elected by the people.

In order for the activity both of the CPE and of other political party associations that appear to be legally regulated we must begin to prepare the corresponding law. If we really wish to move toward a law-governed state there can be no anarchy. Let us take just a couple of concrete issues: Can economic organizations and enterprises be included in the political battle? Can political movements receive money from abroad for their activity here? How is the financial support for political movements regulated by state enterprises? Can 4-5 support groups and local organizations of various parties operate simultaneously in the labor collective? There are plenty of questions like these. Naturally, it is necessary to figure these issues out during the course of the precongress nationwide and intraparty discussion.

Many local organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms have adopted decisions concerning the need to convene a regular CPE congress. Let us consult with you. The bureau of the CPE Central Committee thinks that such a congress is unnecessary.

On behalf of the CPE Central Committee it would be possible to suggest the following program. To hold a practical-theoretical conference in January 1990 at which we could discuss various platforms, ideas, and suggestions regarding restructuring the CPE. The problems raised by the conference could be discussed by the local party organizations and party gorkoms and raykoms in February. In March 1990 we could convene the regular 20th CPE Congress.

In order to prepare for our congress more democratically and enlist in the development of its documents the competent communists who are in the Central Committee today, there is a suggestion to establish at the next Central Committee session a commission to develop congress documents and to lead intraparty discussion. Suggestions about the members of the commission could be submitted to the party gorkoms and raykoms for 2 weeks.

In conclusion I should like to say just one thing—the future of Estonia depends to a very large degree on the conviction, wisdom, honesty, morality, and trusting attitude toward people on the part of the member of our party. And we all should have a sense of this responsibility.

Ukraine Center for Nationalities Studies Set Up

LD1001121790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Summary] A scientific center to study relations between nationalities is being set up under the Institute of History of the Academy of Science of the Ukraine. Igor Mikhaylovich (Khvoryastanyy), deputy director of the institute talks about it to correspondent Vladimir (Sokolov).

There are many nationalities living in the Ukraine and perestroyka has wakened national awareness. Conditions are being created for them to preserve their languages and traditions. As a result problems are arising between nationalities. The center aims to tackle these and to help smoothe them. It will coordinate and where necessary publicize the work of institutions already involved in the subject.

There will be branches at universities throughout the Ukraine. Those in Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozhye will study the Russian population; Donetsk will study the Russians and the Greeks; Simferopol the Crimean Tartars; Odessa the Bulgarians and also the Moldavians and Romanians; Uzhgorod the Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks and Lvov the Poles. They will look at relations between these peoples and the native Ukrainians and if necessary make recommendations to government bodies. The center will also be interested in Ukrainians living outside the Ukraine but its main focus of interest will be relations between nationalities in the Republic.

Ukraine Communists Cooperting With Rukh

LD0901161590 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] The communists do pass their verdict on the activities of some of their fellow members. Just dismissed has been first secretary of the oblast party committee in Chernovtsy.

The new leaders of Ukrainian Communists seem to be determined as fighting the dirt is concerned. It is good that the new leaders also display a flexible and open approach towards cooperating with other public organizations, primarily with the largest of them, known as Rukh [Ukrainian Peoples Movement for Perestroyka]. A cooperation like this instead of confrontation is extremely important on the eve of elections to the

Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and the local councils due to be held on 4 March.

On average, up to 7 candidates have been nominated in each constituency. However, there is a visible drop in the activeness of the electorate. It is a pity because much depends on the new soviets. Typically, new forces of the political horizon have entered the election campaign now. For example, nominated in one of Kiev's constituencies was Mykola Horbal, an activist of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, who spent many years in jail for his human rights activities. Mykola Horbal will run for the UkSSR Supreme Soviet. And he says (voice, to translation):

[Begin Horbal recording, in Russian, fading into superimposed English translation] To get a guarantee that democracy will win, we need the democratic forces to win at elections. We need people of the democratic views to come to the Supreme Soviet. Apart from that, I am against the dictatorship of one party. I am rather in favor of a multiparty system. [end recording]

Mob Beseiges Chernigov Officials' Residences

PM1001210790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent S. Tsikora: "Outcome of Road Accident"]

[Text] Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—Had the driver and passenger of the black Volga known beforehand how their Christmas eve would end they would not have set out from Chernigov and would not have sat down to partake of a meal of boiled rice and raisins [a dish normally eaten at funerals] anywhere.... It all ended in disaster.

The black Volga with the Chernigov Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom] license plate clipped a modest Zhiguli. Everything should have been resolved on the spot, but the driver, G. Zinchenko, and his passenger, V. Zaika, chief of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] organizational and instruction department, tried to slip away from the scene of the accident. But when an assembled crowd spotted a mountain of scarce goods in the trunk of their vehicle, emotion overcame reason. The Volga was turned over and smashed. It was dragged off to the oblast party committee [obkom] building. A spontaneous rally proceeded there, on the square, until 0300. The apartment block where party and soviet workers live was under real seige.

The next day several thousand people again assembled on the square in front of the obkom and oblispolkom building. Obkom First Secretary L. Palazhchenko addressed the Chernigov inhabitants. He reported that V. Zaika, chief of the oblispolkom organizational department, had been dismissed and that the question of his remaining a member of the CPSU was being settled. Criminal proceedings had been instituted against the driver and an investigation was under way.

But those assembled considered these measures were just an attempt to settle the matter quietly. The participants in the rally numbering many thousands demanded more drastic measures be taken—the immediate renewal of the oblast party and soviet apparatus, the elimination of Chernigov rayon party committees [raykom], the Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol], and rayon soviet executive committees [rayispolkom], and the transferring of administrative buildings for use as schools, polyclinics, and hospitals. A detailed resolution was adopted the main point of which was a demand for the immediate resignation of the entire party obkom bureau.

A city-wide rally will be held in Chernigov in the next few days at which answers will be given to the questions raised on Sunday at the party obkom building.

At a meeting of the city party and economic aktiv on 9 January many negative phenomena were analyzed in detail. L. Kravchuk, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, stressed to the aktiv that the process of perestroyka was taking place too slowly in the Chernigov area. It is very important, he said, that efforts be consolidated on a healthy basis on the eve of the election campaign to ensure that really worthy people are elected as people's deputies.

The primary party organization has expelled V. Zaika, former chief of the Chernigov Oblispolkom Organization Department, from the CPSU.

Ukraine To Become Economically Independent by 1991

LD1001162590 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Kiev, January 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yelena Savinova:

The Ukraine will be a fully cost-accounting republic in a year's time, on January 1, 1991.

Prominent scientists and specialists of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, the State Planning Comittee and the Academy of Sciences are now busy, designing the strategy to ensure republican economic sovereignty. They have already drafted general principles for the Ukraine's economic self-sufficiency and submitted them for a nationwide discussion.

What is yet to be done? Will the republic's economic independence provide for a way out of the economic and ecological crisis? One of the authors of the plan—Igor Podolev, the leading specialist of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, answered these questions.

The draft proposes only republican property on Ukrainian territory. The second important aspect is the Ukraine's financial-budgetary system. The draft envisages the formation of the republican budget from below, parallel with local budgets.

As to the union budget, its size should be determined by the republics. Their task is also to establish how much common money and in what areas, should be spent to solve national problems. The republic will negotiate this with the union government.

The question is whether the Ukraine will be able to provide for itself? It has an unfavourable balance of six billion roubles. But this is in present-day prices which are imperfect, the expert said.

The transition to economic independence, Podolev stressed, will enable the Ukraine to dispose of the products manufactured on its territory itself, while making its contribution to the consolidation of the all-union economy. The development of the economically sovereign Ukraine is unthinkable beyond the Soviet Union.

Ukrainian Official Explains Chernobyl Resettlement

PM1001094990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with K. Masik, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic) Council of Ministers, by own correspondent S. Tsikora under the rubric "In Republic Governments": "Chernobyl: Emergency Measures Once More"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The Ukrainian Council of Ministers has adopted two new resolutions which practically affect the interests of 1 million of the republic's inhabitants. The first concerns the resettlement of people from population centers affected by radiation after the Chernobyl disaster. This year 2,910 families will leave their homes.

Why is it necessary to resort again to radical emergency measures almost 4 years after the disaster? What does the proposed assistance to the population envisage? K. Masik, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, answered these questions.

[Masik] First let me talk about the reasons why the government is having to resort again to large-scale and costly measures in the contaminated zones. There are basically two reasons: Concern for the population's health and the need to maintain people's psychological equilibrium.

It must be stated today that the scientific-practical concept for work in the strictly controlled zone applied over the last 3 years has not produced the anticipated effect. It has simply not proved possible to completely neutralize the effect of harmful factors on man, despite tremendous work to decontaminate the area, medical and social steps, and the shipping in of clean food products. So it has been decided to carry out a further resettlement of people from Zhitomir and Kiev Oblasts. At first there were 14 population centers, but at the last moment the government deemed it necessary to include the inhabitants of Narodichi and Polesskoye.

The principle of the resettlement is this—in order not to disrupt their existing tenor of life, villagers are being given homes in a rural location. Those living in urban-type settlements are being given apartments in cities. By and large people will "settle" in the same oblasts they lived in before, but in "clean" rayons. So kinship ties will not be broken. It is also important to note that it is planned to build 11 schools, 16 preschool establishments, new hospitals, stores, canteens, laundries, bathhouses in the resettlement areas and to extend gas supplies to them. A total of R175 million has been allocated for these purposes. Some R30 million from the union government and R145 million from republic funds.

Now a word about the other government resolution. It concerns additional benefits for families living in zones affected by radioactive contamination. There are 1,028 of these population centers in the Ukraine. Approximately 1 million people live there.

The republic's government has taken the following step—as of 1990 many families will be able to enjoy the right to leave the areas subjected to radioactive contamination. Primarily those with children under 14 years of age and with family members contraindicated on medical grounds from staying in the area. These citizens on Ukrainian territory (barring Kiev and the resort zones) receive the right to be registered for priority receipt of housing, to be allocated land to build their own home out of turn, or to join a cooperative. Those who do not want to leave their native areas will be offered assistance. Each family member is allocated R15 per month to buy clean food products. Children at kindergarten and school are henceforth to be provided with free food and in summer with places in sanatoriums, rest homes, and young pioneer camps. The new government resolution also makes provision for a number of other privileges. [Masik ends]

The talk with the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers ended with a question that was also raised at the last session of the republic's Supreme Soviet: What happened to the money collected by the people for the victims of Chernobyl? Why has it still not been given to the victims but handed over (the press claims) to the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry?

[Masik] If the ministry has indeed got the donations, you cannot describe these actions as anything but a challenge to the public. People's deputies from the Ukraine have raised this question at the USSR Council of Ministers and the country's Finance Ministry. But they failed to obtain an intelligible response. Of course, it is hard to compare the several tens of millions of rubles collected by the people with the billions allocated by the state to eliminate the consequences of the accident. But money from the treasury is one thing, money donated by people out of their own pockets is another. We meet with understanding from people today when we say: The union government could only allocate R30 million of the

promised R100 million owing to financial difficulties. But it is impossible to justify the transfer of money collected by the people to some of the culprits of the tragedy, rather than to the victims....

Ukrainian Religious Tensions Described

90UN0598B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 52, 27 Dec 89 p 2

[Article by Sergey Kiselev, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent for the Ukraine: "To Show Good Will"]

[Text] **The situation in the Western regions of the Ukraine remains tense. Uniat believers continue to occupy several illegally seized churches of the Russian Orthodox Church. Bishops of the Ukrainian Exarchate have addressed the clergy, religious orders, and all believers in the Ukraine, asking them to pray for suffering and strayed Christians and for complete conciliation among those who are at odds.**

What is happening today in the Lvov, Ivano-Frankovsk, and Ternopol Oblasts has two aspects, the religious and the sociopolitical, says Bishop Ionafan, vicar of the Kiev Diocese and administrator of the Ukrainian Exarchate. The solution to the first question, in my opinion, is simple—it can be done by way of dialogue between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Vatican. No matter how the passions of believers boil, whatever offenses involved in the infringement of religious feelings (of the Orthodox as well) have been expressed on both sides, hostility and hatred on religious and national grounds can only worsen the situation.

It seems the matter pertaining to the second question becomes more complex when just demands of a part of the believers to believe in whatever religion are used by certain powers for purposes far from religious. To satisfy their political ambitions they reach out for any means—from declaring that the Russian Orthodox Church is "Stalinist" (even though hardly any church suffered to the degree to which ours did during the years of Stalinist repression), that it is "Satanist" and therefore its mysteries do not lead to salvation, to open provocation and instigation of Uniat believers to wholly unjust and illegal actions. Yesterday this took the form of seizures of Orthodox Church buildings and minor skirmishes. By today there was bloodshed. Tomorrow the irreversible might happen.

Perestroyka in the land and in the minds led to the republic government's deciding to register Uniat communities. It is not for the Russian Church to show the Uniats how to build their relations with the Orthodox. But the fact that after repeal of the Brest-Litovsk union in 1946 our mother church took into its churches those Uniats who remained true to the Roman Pope and that orthodox priests baptized their children and gave communion to them, should obligate the Uniats and their soul-shepherds to greater respect and tact in dealing with the Russian Orthodox Church.

I am convinced that with good will even today all questions can be resolved peacefully and quietly, and definitely not by way of the illegal liquidation of functioning Orthodox communities living a full life. The Uniats must observe the law, return seized churches, and treat them like their own, and repair those which stand closed.

We are also astonished by the position of the local authorities. The Religious Affairs Council of the UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has demanded that all churches independently seized by the Uniats be turned over to the local soviets. This is not yet happening. Relations between the Orthodox and the Catholics in the Ukraine were never simple, at times even tragic. But is it that history has taught us nothing? Has our conscience remained at a medieval level? Is it that we Christians must today defend our right to existence with violence, which begets only violence? Those who push us in that direction must be stopped! Let us hope that true believers will be able to show good will. Because only through dialogue and not through enmity lies the path to the solution of problems which have divided us for centuries. This is also demanded by our common striving toward the creation of a just state, two of whose pillars are freedom of conscience and the principles of Christian charity.

News Conference on Split in Ukrainian Church

LD1101054290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2050 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the "Novosti" newscast; Boris Kostenko report]

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference took place today at the Holy Danilov Monastery in Moscow. One of the themes of the news conference was the new conflict in the Russian Orthodox Church.

[Kostenko] The essence of the problem lies in the fact that former Bishop Ioann Bondarchuk of Zhitomir, having referred to a blessing he allegedly received from his holiness the patriarch of Constantinople Dimitriy the First, arbitrarily left the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate and formed a number of parishes of a so-called Ukrainian autocephalous orthodox church. Two months ago he was stripped of the status of monasticism and of the office of bishop by the decision of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church for these actions. Metropolitan Feodosiy, the representative of the Constantinople Patriarchate, categorically rejected the claims of the Ukrainian autocephalous orthodox church for canonicity, and also sharply denied, when so doing, the fact of patronage of it by the Constantinople Patriarch. The Metropolitan, deeply concerned by the situation in which the essentially disconnected orthodox church in the Ukraine finds itself, stressed that the so-called autocephalous or independent church in the Ukraine frankly is trying to resolve its political problems by hiding behind nonexistent canonic ecclesiastry. Nevertheless that church has many advocates. What is the reason for such support? [Video shows two churchmen

and a man in lay clothes sit at a wooden table at microphones; there are icons on the white-painted walls]

[Metropolitan Kirill, of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate] I would not begin to speak of mass support. The point is a certain support for this movement in western oblasts of the Ukraine. Unfortunately, and this must be stressed, unfortunately certain extremist-minded nationalistic circles are using this movement for the instigation of separatistic sentiments in the western Ukraine. It is very sad that every time our country experiences certain historical difficulties, this theme arises and such a phenomenon emerges in the church. Suffice to recall that precisely such a phenomenon emerged in the twenties on the same soil. We hope that this process will not spread.

Armenian Nationalists Kidnap 43 Azeris

NC1001215390 Paris AFP in English 1956 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 10 (AFP)—Tensions between Armenia and Azerbaijan escalated further Wednesday when Armenian nationalists kidnapped 43 Azeris, a day after 19 Armenian officials were abducted by Azeris, an Armenian nationalist leader said.

Levon Ter Petrossian, a leader of the Armenian National Movement, told Agence France-Presse by telephone that Azeri extremists kidnapped the first party chief of the town of Shaumyan, the local council's number two and 17 other Armenian leaders. Armenians later abducted 43 Azeris living in the same town to negotiate the Armenians' release.

Situated inside Azerbaijan, north of the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh enclave, Shaumyan is mainly populated by Christian Armenians.

Mr. Petrossian, who is a member of the Armenian parliament, said the kidnappings were discussed in a parliament meeting Wednesday.

The population of Shaumyan and nearby Getashen expected an Azeri attack overnight Wednesday, the deputy said, adding that the Supreme Soviet called for Soviet troops to be sent in to protect the people. Interfax, a Moscow radio publication, confirmed the kidnappings but said a total 40 Azeris were being detained by Armenians.

In another development, workers in the Azerbaijan capital of Baku held several meetings to protest at the green light by the Armenian parliament Tuesday for a development scheme for the Nagorno-Karabakh region. The autonomous region is administered by Azerbaijan but claimed by Armenia. Direct rule by Moscow over the region was ended in late November following opposition by both Armenians and Azeris.

The Armenian parliament, for its part, has voted to incorporate Nagorno-Karabakh into its territory in defiance of both Moscow and Azerbaijan.

TV Shows Rally, Grenades, Missiles in NKAO

LD1101000790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Vremya yesterday reported the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and I remember the announcer voiced the worry that the session's decisions--they concerned Nagorno-Karabakh and the situation in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic in Azerbaijan—might evoke a negative reaction in the Azerbaijan SSR. That is what has happened. Today, there were protest rallies at all enterprises and institutions in Baku. We must report objectively, just as we reported yesterday on the session in Yerevan. So, over to our correspondent in Baku.

[Reporter M. Mamedov] Although the rallies had not been previously announced, all those working at the 26 Baku Commissars Oil and Gas Extraction Administration [OGEA] assembled during the lunch break to express their determined protest at the unlawful actions of the Armenian deputies. [video shows open-air meeting in progress] Speakers noted that it was direct interference in the affairs of a sovereign republic and that such actions ran counter to the fundamental law, the USSR Constitution. As though summing up all that his comrades had been saying, Mamedov, secretary of the OGEA party committee, said to us:

[R.M. Mamedov] I, as a party committee secretary, and all the Communists at the 26 Baku Commissars OGEA are concerned by just one question: Why is it that, right up to the present day, neither the CPSU Central Committee nor the USSR Supreme Soviet have given an unambiguous appraisal of the anticonstitutional, adventuristic decisions of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR. After all, they radically contradict the cause of perestroyka in our country and add fuel to the already explosive situation in the region. The speech by the head of the Soviet Government mentioned repeatedly that the NKAO was, is, and remains within the Azerbaijan SSR. However, the session of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR adopts, as a countermeasure, completely different decisions, which additionally aggravate the situation. [video shows R.M. Mamedov speaking]

[M. Mamedov] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is getting worse, but not without assistance from outside. [video shows armored personnel carrier moving along a road] Yet another bridge has been blown up, the one linking Agdamskiy Rayon with a number of Armenian villages inside the NKAO. [Video shows remains of a bridge] And so much explosive was needed for this that it was probably not made in the NKAO. The same applies to these home-made grenades and to these surface-to-surface missiles, complete with their launchers, which were sent with building material from Artashatskiy Rayon in Armenia to Stepanakert. [video shows grenades and missiles]. And just look at what happened

to a roadside cafe in the Askeranskiy Rayon in the NKAO—just because Azeris worked there. [video shows burned out ruin] It is not only roads and bridges that are being blown up, but the history, covering many centuries, of the two peoples' living together. [video shows troops manning checkpoint]

[G.B. Dobritsov, commandant of Agdamskiy Rayon] Today there is hardly a single night when provocations and shooting do not take place in the inhabited localities of Agdanmskiy Rayon that are near the border with Nagorno-Karabakh. [video shows M. Mamedov talking to a man in militia uniform] People have grown tired of all this. They're tired. It's been going on for 2 years. People want a normalization of the situation. They want to return to the former relations that existed—kind, good relations— between Azeri and Armenian peoples. [video shows soldiers standing on an APC]

Armenian Deputies Concerned Over NKAO Incidents

NC1001155490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The 11th session of the 11th convocation of the republic's Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations today at Shaumyan hall. Miro Mstoyan, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, opened the session. The following deputies addressed the meeting and put forward proposals: Ashot Manucharyan, Rafael Kazaryan, Khrachik Simonyan, Vladimir Movsesyan, Khachik Muradyan, and others. Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, answered deputies' questions about the future construction of roads.

Many deputies expressed concern about the terse situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and in the Armenian-populated Shaumyanovskiy rayon and Getashen village [areas within Azerbaijan bordering on NKAO]. Usik Arutyunyan, the republic's internal affairs minister, and Vachakan Grigoryan, chairman of the NKAO National Council, delivered reports on this issue.

Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, also spoke at the session. He pointed out the need for the deputies to adopt a resolute orientation, to [words indistinct], to make correct decisions, and [words indistinct] on important issues during this complex and tense situation.

Next, the session began debating amendments and additions to Soviet Armenia's Constitution. Each article of the Constitution was presented for debate separately.

We will present recorded reports from the session on the first republican radio program at 2100.

[Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 1000 GMT on 10 January, monitored with very poor to unmonitorable reception, reported that "the tension is not subsiding in NKAO." "Exchange of fire during the night is continuing in a number of settlements in the oblast including in Stepanakert; cars are being stoned or fired upon on the roads. The hostage taking has become frequent." "The movement of freight trains into the oblast has stopped."]

Nakhichevan Obkom Secretary Explains Situation

PM1001150990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[Interview with A.D. Dzhalilov, first secretary of Nakhichevan Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom (Oblast Committee), by unnamed TASS special correspondent: "Situation Returning to Normal"; date, place not given]

[Text] A.D. Dzhalilov, first secretary of the Nakhichevan Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Committee], answers questions put by a TASS special correspondent:

[Correspondent] As already reported, on the last day of last year and in the first few days of 1990, actions to destabilize the situation in the Nakhichevan section of the Soviet-Iranian border were carried out. How could this happen? What prompted people to commit such actions?

[Dzhalilov] What happened on the Soviet-Iranian border in the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] is causing deep concern among the republic's working people.

It must be noted that the perestroyka processes and the democratization of social life taking place in the country have had a specific effect on the sociopolitical situation in the republic. Above all, this process has been affected by events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which are causing agitation among the population, a wave of emotional unrest, and a rise in social tension.

Issues that had been accumulating for a long time gave rise to what happened. It is a matter of returning to agricultural use the approximately 17,000 hectares of fertile land occupied by the border zone. This problem has been particularly exacerbated in connection with the resettlement and rehousing on Nakhichevan ASSR territory of thousands of Azerbaijani refugees who have moved from the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and with the blockade of the village of Kyarki. The autonomous republic's population is also demanding that the existing regulations about contacts between local inhabitants and relatives living in Iran be simplified and that border trade be organized. These questions were raised earlier, but no logical solutions were found.

[Correspondent] You have visited many sections of the border and seen everything with your own eyes. What is the scale of the calamity? Is the material damage great? Are there any casualties? How did the border guards behave in this extremely complex situation?

[Dzhalilov] The approximate damage was over R5 million. The border guards personnel behaved courageously and with restraint. The use of firearms against the local population was not permitted. There were no casualties on either side.

The party obkom, together with the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, is taking every possible political measure to stabilize the situation.

We have asked the USSR Foreign Ministry to examine, together with the Iranian side, the question of the possibility of simplifying the procedure for contacts between inhabitants of the republic and Iran on an individual basis.

On 8 January, there was a meeting of the autonomous republic's party-economic aktiv as well as a meeting of party obkom bureau members with the women's aktiv and the elders. A staff for operational leadership of the stabilization process in collaboration with the border guards has been created at the party obkom. A session of the staff examined a report by the first secretary of the Dzhulfinskiy party rayon committee on measures to normalize the situation in the rayon. Groups of party and soviet activists have been sent to all border villages and border posts. In the next few days there will be a meeting with the border guards' families.

The situation in the autonomous republic is being monitored by the party obkom and the republic's government, and every possible measure is being taken to prevent violations of the law.

It must also be noted that the Nakhichevan ASSR's population has lived in friendship and harmony with the border guards for many years. There have been no conflicts between them. These relations are traditionally characterized by mutual assistance and support in solving problems with regard to guarding the border, everyday problems, and so on. All this creates confidence in the speediest normalization of the situation on the border.

Official Interviewed on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1001074690 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Tension continues in the Nagorno-Karabakh region because of the stands assumed by both sides, says Arkadiy Volskiy, former head of the Nagorno-Karabakh special administration committee, which recently ceased to exist.

He pointed out in an interview with LITERATURNAYA GAZETA that both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani sides do not want to listen to each other and are not looking for a reasonable way out of the situation, for a balance of interests. They are stubbornly working for victory, each side wishing victory for itself.

"It is obvious that neither side can win, he continued. Further confrontation will only lead to more bloodshed. It is impossible to correct what has already happened in the course of history, and one should look for a way out, proceeding from the present-day realities and remembering that it is people, their lives and destinies that are at stake.

"Today we must stop regarding each other as enemies. The Azerbaijani side should admit that the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh region had reasons to protest. The Nagorno-Karabakh problem is not the result of malicious intrigues, but a natural and well-justified movement of people for autonomy and self-government, the expression of a desire to preserve their national identity. In this situation, as Lenin taught, the republic of Azerbaijan should make more, rather than less concessions to the small nation. At the same time, Armenians should stop regarding Azerbaijan as an enemy whose only desire is to eliminate Armenians living on its territory. They should realise that Perestroyka provides an opportunity to correct the deformities of the past, including in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations, and to build them on a new humanist basis.

Resolutions on Border Incidents, NKAO

PM1101104390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Resolutions dated 10 January 1990]

[Text] USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on Flagrant Violations of the Law on the USSR State Border on the Territory of the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]

Having examined the question of mass disturbances and instances of excesses in the area of the USSR State Border on the territory of the Nakhichevan ASSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To resolutely condemn the instances of excesses and flagrant violations of the Law on the USSR State Border which resulted in the destabilization of the situation on the said sector of the Soviet-Iranian border, the destruction of border installations, and the violation of the USSR State Border regime.

2. To take cognizance of the fact that, in conjunction with the border services, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and Nakhichevan ASSR state organs are taking urgent steps to restore the destroyed border installations, while law-enforcement organs are investigating the instances of flagrant violations of the Law on the USSR State Border and proceedings are being instituted against the guilty parties.

3. To instruct the USSR Council of Ministers, with the participation of republic-level and local state organs of the Azerbaijan SSR, to take steps to resolve the specific issues raised by the population of the border areas.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Moscow, Kremlin. 10 January 1990.

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on the Nonconformity With the USSR Constitution of the Acts on Nagorno-Karabakh Adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet 1 December 1989 and 9 January 1990

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a number of decisions aimed at blocking the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 28 November 1989 "On Measures To Normalize the Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]" which have resulted in the further exacerbation of interethnic relations in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted resolutions 1 December 1989 "On the Reunification of the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh" and "On the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution of 28 November 1989 'On Measures To Normalize the Situation in NKAO.'"

The proclamation of the reunification of the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh without the consent of the Azerbaijan SSR constitutes a direct breach of Article 78 of the USSR Constitution.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet's adoption of joint resolutions with an unconstitutional body—the Nagorno-Karabakh National Council—and the recognition of the Congress of Plenipotentiary Representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh and the National Council formed by it as the sole legitimate authority in the autonomous oblast contravene Articles 2, 78, 86, 87, and 145 of the USSR Constitution.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted 9 January 1990 a resolution "On the Inclusion in the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Armenian SSR in 1990 of a Plan for the Socioeconomic Development of NKAO in 1990," thus violating the sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan SSR.

In connection with the aforementioned, and guided by Articles 73, 76, and 173 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To recognize that the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet resolutions of 1 December 1989 "On the Reunification of the Armenian SSR and Nagorno-Karabakh" and "On the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution of 28 November 1989 'On Measures To Normalize the Situation in NKAO'" and of 9 January 1990 "On the Inclusion in the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Armenian SSR in 1990 of a Plan for the Socioeconomic Development of NKAO in 1990" are not in accordance with the USSR Constitution and, under Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, cannot operate on the republic's territory.

2. To propose to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the basis of Point 5 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution, that it take steps to bring the republic's legislative acts into line with the USSR Constitution.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Moscow, Kremlin. 10 January 1990.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution on the Incompetence of a Number of Provisions of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution of 4 December 1989 "On Measures To Normalize the Situation in the Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO"

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution adopted 4 December 1989 "On Measures To Normalize the Situation in the Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO" unlawfully suspended the operation of a number of norms of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 28 November 1989 "On Measures To Normalize the Situation in NKAO."

Guided by Articles 73 and 76 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To recognize that the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution of 4 December 1989 "On Measures To Normalize the Situation in the Azerbaijan SSR's NKAO," insofar as it suspends the operation of a number of provisions of Points 3, 4, 6, and 7 of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 28 November 1989, is not in accordance with the USSR Constitution and, under Article 173 of the USSR Constitution, cannot operate on the republic's territory.

2. To propose to the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the basis of Point 5 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution, that it bring the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution of 4 December 1989 into line with the USSR Constitution.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Moscow, Kremlin. 10 January 1990.

NKAO Resolutions Deemed Unconstitutional

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Resolution

LD1001212590 Moscow TASS in English 2118 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—A resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted today says that the December 4, 1989 resolution of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic "on measures to normalise the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic" illegally halted the operation of a number of norms of November 28, 1989 resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet "on measures to normalise the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region."

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet established that the resolution of the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic is not in

keeping with the Constitution of the USSR and because of Article 173 of the USSR Constitution cannot function in the republic's territory.

The Presidium suggested that the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet bring December 4, 1989 resolution of the Presidium of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet in keeping with the Constitution of the USSR.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Decisions

LD1001213690 Moscow TASS in English 2127 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet today adopted a decree which says that a number of decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic aimed at blocking the functioning of the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet of November 28, 1989, "on measures towards the normalisation of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region" have led to further aggravation of inter-ethnic relations in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it.

The decree says that the proclamation of unification of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and Nagorno-Karabakh without the consent of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic is outright violation of Article 78 of the Constitution of the USSR.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet decreed that the decisions of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic of December 1, 1989 "on unification of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and Nagorno-Karabakh", "regarding the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet of November 28, 1989 'on measures for normalisation of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region' and of January 9, 1990 'on including the plan for social and economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region for 1990 in the state plan for economic and social development of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic for 1990'" are not in keeping with the USSR Constitution and due to Article 74 of the USSR Constitution cannot function in the republic's territory.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet also suggested that the Presidium of Armenia's Supreme Soviet takes measures to bring legislative acts in the republic in keeping with the Constitution of the USSR.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Flays Armenian Decision

NC1001201690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The regular session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet resumed its work on 9 January with the participation of the representatives of the (?ill-reputed) National Council of Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO], which is an anticonstitutional establishment. While debating the development plan and the budget for 1990, it exceeded its authority and violated the sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR by including NKAO's social development plans within the sphere of Armenian SSR activities.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium categorically condemns the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session's inciting move and regards it as a political design against reconstruction and open interference in the internal affairs of Azerbaijan SSR, which is a sovereign republic. The (?move) is aimed directly at further aggravating interethnic discord and (?disruption) stability in the region. As an institution which represents the will of the voters and the people, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deems the failure of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to make a political and legal assessment of the anticonstitutional decisions of the Armenian SSR as impermissible.

On the basis of its sovereign and constitutional rights, the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium has established a collective to draw up proposals aimed at normalizing the situation in the NKAO. This special document will be presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for approval. The proposals will be debated by the regular session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet.

Azerbaijani Workers Protest Armenian Decision

NC1001212090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Many people gathered in the area under the jurisdiction of the economic group of the technical [words indistinct] for repairing and [word indistinct] oil wells, which is affiliated with the 26 Baku Commissars Oil and Natural Gas Administration. The oil workers and the workers affiliated with other establishments and administrations in the Karadagskiy Rayon gathered there not to demonstrate but [words indistinct] and resolutely oppose the anticonstitutional activities of the Armenian deputies.

Mamedov, who is the secretary of the administration's party committee, said: The country's high-ranking leaders have said many times that our borders are untouchable and that Nagorno-Karabakh is an inseparable part of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] territory and that it will continue to remain as such. However, what has been said is not enough. Maintaining of our borders and the republic's sovereignty without disruption must be effectively ensured. It is clear that the activities of the Armenian extremists and their protectors further aggravate interethnic discord. In view of this, we demand on behalf of all the communists and the oil workers that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium immediately move to make an open and political assessment of the illegal decision adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Session.

The meeting participants unanimously adopted an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

expressing their categorical opposition to the decisions adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session, its shameful charges against the neighboring sovereign republic, and its interference in the Azerbaijan SSR's internal affairs.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Decision Termed Illegal

NC1001205290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Though tension in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and in the entire Caucasus region has not yet lessened, each and every move and activity aimed at worsening the interethnic discord and delaying the settlement of this problem, which is a complex matter not only for our republic but also for the entire country, is [words indistinct] very serious.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet's unprecedented and illegal decision to include the settlement of the problems related to the social and economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which is an inseparable part of one of Armenia's neighboring republics, within the sphere of its (?work) is such a move.

Naturally, the republic's workers regard interference in Azerbaijan SSR's internal affairs as a very serious matter. They have described the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet's activities as provocative and illegal.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Debates Reviewed

NC1001131690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The issues under consideration at the Armenian Supreme Soviet session engendered heated debate not only among the deputies in the hall but also in the (?galleries). The move to place the issue of the closure of the Nairit scientific production association on the agenda was unanimously rejected on the grounds that the Armenian Supreme Soviet had already debated this point and had decided to close the association and that decision remains in force. This giant of the chemical industry ceased all operations as of the new year.

The (?speakers) also condemned the illegal act committed along the Nakhichevan-Iran border. Not only was the organizer of these acts, the Azerbaijan People's Front, sharply criticized but also the central authority, which has taken a very forgiving position and has evaded making an appropriate political assessment; it has even [words indistinct]. TASS reports, which were circulated at the session, give the impression that the actions of the border violaters were justified because the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] problem in line with the wishes of the neighboring republic is being delayed.

The session endorsed the 1990 economic plan and budget of the NKAO; this is the first practical step since the 1 December decision to reunite the oblast with Armenia. The members of the NKAO National Council, who were all present in the hall, welcomed the decision. [passage omitted]

Charges Against Armenia's Voskanyan Refuted

NC1001140290 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 10 Jan 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] As is already known, during the 10th extraordinary session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet on 17 September, Deputy Kotanchyan made public a letter by Serobyan, a former detainee, in which charges were leveled against Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet. At the (?suggestion) of Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and at the demand of Grant Voskanyan, the session decided to appeal to the USSR Procuracy to investigate the claims made in the letter and to [word indistinct]. Nazaryan, procurator of the Armenian Republic, delivered a report on this issue and made public the (?reply) of the USSR Procuracy. Those letters [not further identified] mention the names of more than 200 people. One of them mentions Grant Voskanyan (?who committed a crime) by misusing his official position. After a close scrutiny of that anonymous letter by the [word indistinct] and judicial bodies, it has been determined that the charges leveled against Voskanyan and others are slanderous. Thus, the anonymous [words indistinct] found in Serobyan's letter and made public by Kotanchyan, is considered calumny. [passage omitted]

USSR People's Deputy [name indistinct] read an open letter to Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Supreme Soviet, following the statement by USSR People's Deputy Starovoytova, took up the problem of Arkadiy Manucharov, a deputy of the Armenian Supreme Soviet who will be tried at the (Brest) oblast court in the Belorussian Republic. It was decided to appeal in the name of the Armenian Supreme Soviet session to the Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Republic and to the [word indistinct] requesting the release of Manucharov from detention.

The republic's Supreme Soviet will continue its session today. An ARMENPRES report on the Supreme Soviet session has been published.

Case Against Multiparty System Argued

PM1001164690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[S. Zakharov article under the rubric "What People Are Arguing About," as part of a full-page feature headed "Discussion Pamphlet No 2: The Party and Perestroyka—Toward the 28th CPSU Congress": "How Many Parties Do We Need?"]

[Text] Moscow—In the present complex and contradictory political situation one of the main "hot" issues

engaging people's minds and hearts is the question of the party and its role and place in society. The mighty wave of criticism that has broken on the CPSU—criticism that is justified and slanderous, constructive and destructive, healing and wounding—is making it define its objectives and tasks more clearly.

However, the mastery of the entire wealth of innovative ideas formulated in the course of perestroyka is still being acquired only slowly. Many primary party organizations are not in effect determining the state of affairs in the labor collectives. Some party committees are having difficulty overcoming the inertia of braking factors, while some leaders find it hard to surmount the longing for authoritarianism and the adherence to stereotypes. On top of the objective difficulties of perestroyka (and multiplying them), these factors promote the emergence of far from isolated opinions that party organizations, and indeed the party as a whole, have lost their ability to lead and are yielding ground.

In this situation these questions are often asked: How democratic is the one-party system, and indeed is it democratic at all? Would it not be better if two or several political parties started to function in our country? Is the CPSU afraid of sharing power with someone else?

It so happens that in our country virtually from the very beginning of soviet power the functions of political leaders were taken on by one party—the Bolsheviks' party, the CPSU. Until recently the main argument—"that is how things developed historically"—was the first and virtually the last in discussions with supporters of a multiparty system. Does it reach the crux of the problem? I think not.

Experience in various countries, bourgeois and socialist, indicates that a multifaceted situation and events that do not follow a smooth progression can transform a one-party system into a two-party or multiparty, and vice versa. So historical tradition is an important factor, but not the only factor influencing an emerging or established system. There are many other factors, too. It therefore appears more appropriate and correct to pose the question differently: Can one party lead society in a really democratic and really effective way? Is the one-party system as such democratic and effective?

Many bourgeois political scientists (and they are not the only ones) answer this question in the negative. In their opinion only a two-party or multiparty system contains the potential for alternatives, for the comparison and choice of options in making particular decisions, and for appealing to the people. It is said that only the existence, without fail, of opposition parties compels the ruling party to follow the people's interests. Otherwise it ceases to be the ruling party, and another party, formerly in opposition, begins to express those interests. A one-party system, according to the logic of those who hold this view, does not have that potential. Therefore, a party that rules "in isolation" sooner or later becomes divorced from the people, becomes elitist. This, they assert, is what has happened to the CPSU.

So let us ask frankly: Does the CPSU today express the vital interests of the country's main social strata? Its fundamental program tenets undoubtedly say only one thing: Yes, it does express them. But two factors must be borne in mind here. First. The bureaucratic, administrative edict system, alien to the socialist ideal, which developed in our country in the thirties, while verbally following the decisions adopted by the party, actually guided society toward results that were inappropriate or even diametrically opposed. Thus it was not the party's program demands and decisions in principle that were antipopular, but the use of unprincipled methods, which were permitted as a conseqeunce of the departure from the Leninist pricniples of socialist building and the Leninist concept of socialism.

And a second factor. Until recently the concept of "the people" was largely identified with the concepts of "society" and "the state." But the people are individuals. If, as producers, they were cut off from the means of production, and as "social beings" from politics and power (which is precisely what we had come to, as a result of the Stalinist and post-Stalinist deformations of socialism), then the concept of "interest" was rather abstract. It was proclaimed more than it was put into practice.

April 1985 marked a drastic change. In accordance with the party's plans, on its initiative, and by the efforts of its organizations and committees, the revolutionary perestroyka of all economic and political structures began in the country. True people's power is gradually being established. All this enables us to assert that today the CPSU is indeed capable of expressing the interests of the main social strata of the Soviet people—the working class, the labor peasantry, and the intelligentsia.

Does this mean that the party's policy is all incontrovertibly and finally correct? That there are no mistakes? Or if there are, that the party does not admit them? That there is no one to correct those who do make mistakes? That there is no one to express a different view that diverges from the official view?

In other words: Can a one-party system be really democratic?

I am profoundly convinced that it can. This was demonstrated by the debates at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, Central Committee plenums, and last year's party report and election meetings. Numerous illustrations from today's party life show the existence of different options for various decisions and steps, the real clash of opinions. Viewpoints that do not coincide (partially or wholly) with that of the Central Committee, the first secretary, of the bureau of the particular party committee are put forward and defended.

Of course, we have not gone all the way in this direction, and the barriers created by the obsolete rules of the

administrative edict past have not yet been entirely removed. But the right direction has been chosen: Namely—the democratization of the party and its internal life. Conditions are being created in which every Communist can participate actively in the formulation and implementation of partywide decisions.

The concepts proposed by the party are increasingly frequently subjected to thorough expert examinations by the people and tested for their conformity with the people's interest, while party committees and cadres are tested for maturity and loyalty to the ideas of perestroyka. For all the obvious diversity of the particular aspirations of various informal associations, as a rule they react rapidly to party committees' shortcomings and mistakes. Social needs are also highlighted increasingly intensively as a result of the party committees' study of materials from sociological research.

The party takes into account the demands and proposals that are put forward. These are not forced concessions or immoral compromises, but real, natural consideration for public opinion.

In short, in social life in the USSR today there is every opportunity to rectify policy from above. And to influence, from the inside or the outside, the nature of the practical actions of any party committee, any party organization, if as a result of that policy or those actions the people's interests begin to suffer. So when it is a question of the system's truly democratic nature, it is not a question of the number of political parties. The main thing is how fully a given party expresses those interests, how far it is democratic. Even if it is the only party. We have a party which is capable of consolidating society and mobilizing and organizing it to overcome the crisis. It is the Communist Party which is renewing itself.

The creation of any other, alternative political parties today will lead, in my view, to the splitting of society, to differentiation among social forces, only not to their unity. Instead of concentrating on the resolution of urgent economic and social tasks, harmonizing interethnic relations, and eliminating deformations in the spiritual and moral sphere, we would be forced again and again to "struggle." These reflections are prompted, in particular, by the decisions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress.

USSR on Brink of Full-Blown AIDS Epidemic

LD1001190190 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 10—Special for TASS by Paulette Farsides:

The Soviet Union is now on the brink of a full-blown AIDS epidemic and official attempts at prevention are being handicapped by production shortcomings, a Soviet Health Ministry official has warned.

Cases of HIV infection and AIDS in the Soviet Union could jump from the current figure of several hundred to tens of thousands within just two years, says Mikhail Narkevich, head of the department dealing with AIDS at the Ministry of Health.

However a more accurate projection is impossible because the illegal status of high risk groups means that the necessary data cannot be gathered, he says. "We are campaigning for the legalisation of homosexuality, and we want a situation where drug addicts can approach the state without fear of arrest," Narkevich said.

"As it is, we still don't know which is the most high risk group. Out of 450 Soviets and 463 foreigners who were infected with the HIV virus in November 1989, only two were drug addicts, but as these people constitute a hidden group, there could be many more."

He rules out the possibility of regular blood screening for prostitutes, or needle exchanges of the type introduced in Britain.

His deputy, Oleg Bogatyrev, admits that after the initial government response to AIDS as a purely Western import, the disease has prompted a franker official picture of Soviet society.

"Of course we realise that we have many of the same problems as Western society. There are still very sensitive areas. Homosexuality in prisons is one of them, but we are not denying that it exists. Screening has been carried out in the prisons, and out of 800,000 people one infected person was found", Bogatyrev said.

Another obstacle in the fight against AIDS and the HIV virus is the inability of Soviet industry to produce enough condoms, disposable syringes and blood transfusion systems.

Already two separate appeals for hard currency to buy western disposable syringes have been set up—one by the OGONEK magazine, the other by the head of the Academy of Medicine. "This is a very painful issue for us. In 1988 the plan for condoms was 600 million and only 200 million were produced," Bogatyrev says.

"While the government realises the gravity of the situation and is trying to help us, we have received no more than a third of the grant we requested for special equipment," he adds. The government claims to welcome unofficial initiatives in the fight against AIDS, but this welcome does not extend to medical cooperatives: "Our attitude to cooperatives is generally negative," he says. "You can't fool around with AIDS. We don't want cooperatives to be a refuge for people who want to hide their disease from the government."

Under a law passed in 1987, it is a criminal offense to knowingly infect anyone with the HIV virus. Generally, Narchevich characterises AIDS treatment in the USSR as "a mixture of the voluntary and the obligatory approach".

"We were accused of human rights violations when we introduced compulsory screening for foreigners two years ago," he says. "Now many countries have followed suit. At the moment a law is being prepared to protect infected people against discrimination. Infected people have the same rights as everybody else in this society."

(Paulette Farsides is a trainee journalist taking part in a three month exchange between the Union of Soviet Journalists and the National Union of Journalists of Great Britain at present working at TASS).

Council of Ministers Raises Jewelry Prices

LD0901235690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 9 Dec 90

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers decided to raise the retail price of jewelry and articles made of or including precious metals by an average of 50% as of today. Precious metals being bought up from the population are being raised to a similar extent.

The adoption of such a decision was motivated by a number of reasons and circumstances, in the first place by the fact that gold and precious stones are hard currency goods. Since last year, their sale has assumed an abnormal nature: mass buying-up of jewelry started then with huge lines forming. Buying-up of jewelry was carried out not only by citizens of our country but also by foreign tourists coming to the USSR, both from socialist and capitalist countries. Prices for jewelry turned out to be manifestly too low. Compared with prices abroad, they were at least 30%-40% too low. During 9 months of last year alone USSR Customs confiscated on the border goods made out of gold and silver worth R15 million, which were illegally being taken out of the country. All this required the urgent normalization of the sale of jewelry. The prices of gold assigned for making false teeth [zoloto otpuskayemoye na protezirovaniye] remain unchanged.

Rights Activist Sergey Kuznetsov Freed

PM1001155190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 p 1

[Own correspondent V. Sanatin article: "Sentence Changed"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—The sentence given to Sergey Kuznetsov of Sverdlovsk, the commissioned artist and architect arrested by the Sverdlovsk militia more than a year ago at a rally devoted to the 40th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has been altered.

The Sverdlovsk Oblast Court Collegium has examined an appeal on the case, whose fame has spread throughout the world's press. Memories of the ruling handed down by Sverdlovsk's Kirovskiy Rayon Court, which sentenced S. Kuznetsov to 3 years imprisonment, are still fresh. He was sentenced for resisting militiamen and slandering a Ministry of Internal Affairs officer...

But now the authorities have concluded that Kuznetsov's participation in the unsanctioned rally was a statutory rather than a criminal offense. The reading out of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an act that poses no social threat, as was claimed in the previous charge. The insult to the "injured officer" does not constitute slander. But it was for this act that Sergey Kuznetsov was given a punishment of 6 months corrective work, which the defendant has already served in custody.

Kuznetsov is free. From jail and from his illusions.

Economic

Supreme Soviet Limits Consumer Exports

PM2912152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "On Regulating Foreign Economic Activity in 1990"]

[Text] On 20 November 1989, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "On Additional Measures to Stabilize the Consumer Market and Strengthen State Supervision of Prices." This document suspends for the duration of the 4th quarter of 1989 and for 1990 Article 19 of the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)" in respect of the conclusion of economic agreements and contracts on the exportation of consumer goods and raw materials for their production in excess of the quotas laid down by the plan. It was deemed expedient to introduce licensing of exports of consumer goods and the main types of raw materials for their production, to be applied to all participants in foreign economic ties. To ensure the implementation of this USSR Supreme Soviet resolution and to stabilize the supply of national economic goods and overcome certain negative phenomena in foreign economic relations, the USSR Council of Ministers adopted Resolution No 1104 "On Additional Measures of State Regulation of Foreign Economic Activity in 1990" on 11 December 1989.

The resolution lays down specifically that enterprises, associations, and organizations engaging in all types of foreign economic activity (including direct production and scientific-technical ties, coastal and border trade, and goods-exchange (barter) operations) may, when exporting and importing goods subject to licensing, sign agreements (contracts) and dispatch goods abroad only after they have obtained the relevant licenses from competent organs.

It is deemed impermissible to issue licenses for the export and import of goods (or works or services) by USSR ministries and departments, union republic Councils of Ministers, and other organizations in violation of the USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 203 of 7 March 1989 "On Measures of State Regulation of Foreign Economic Activity" and other USSR Council of

Ministers decisions and corresponding decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission.

The government has accepted the proposals of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development and the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, agreed with the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab], the USSR Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR Ministry of Trade, the USSR Gosplan the State Committees [as published] for Light Industry, and the Central Union of Consumer Societies [Tsentrosoyuz] on the introduction of the licensing of exports of consumer goods and raw materials for their production in 1990 by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations in accordance with a list approved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

It also has been decided to introduce quotas on the exportation of consumer goods and raw material for their production for 1990.

With a view to improving supplies to the population of food products and essential consumer goods, quotas for the exportation of licensed consumer goods allocated from market stocks have been laid down for union republics for 1990.

The export licenses and quotas apply to Soviet participants in foreign economic ties and all types of their foreign economic activity including coastal and border trade, goods-exchange (barter) operations, and operations involving direct ties.

Exports over and above the quantities set aside for this purpose by the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1990 and the present resolution are banned in the sphere of goods-exchange (barter) operations, coastal and border trade, and direct ties in the case of food products, hard coal, petrochemical products, timber materials, fertilizers, construction materials, and sanitary ware allocated for sale to the population.

The USSR Council of Ministers has instructed the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, when issuing licenses for the construction of projects on USSR territory funded from central sources and involving foreign companies, as well as licenses for the hire of foreign labor, to proceed from the efforts under way in the USSR to cut the volume of capital construction and to consider the availability of skilled construction worker cadres.

The USSR ministries and departments, union republic Councils of Ministers, and other organs authorized to issue export and import licenses for goods (works, services) must strictly observe the procedure for the issue of these licenses and clearly define the functions of the subdivisions which examine applications for these licenses, ensuring proper coordination of the decisions that are adopted with ministries and departments which balance the plan and set the quotas for the relevant types of goods. It is planned to concentrate the issue of licenses in one structural subdivision and to adopt measures to reduce the time taken to examine applications and issue licenses (this period must not exceed 30 days).

The USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry and the State "Agrokhim" association are instructed to assume supervision of the issue of licences for the exportation of timber materials and fertilizers, respectively, in order to forestall unjustified exports of these goods.

In connection with the abolition of the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, the issue of licenses for the exportation of the relevant materials is being entrusted to the State "Soyuzstroymaterialy" Association in partial amendment of USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 203 of 7 March 1989.

USSR ministries and departments, union republic Councils of Ministers, and other organs which issue licenses for the exportation of goods (works, services) are obliged every month to submit details to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations about the licenses which they have issued in accordance with a form laid down by that ministry. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations is instructed to analyze all this information and to report its results quarterly to the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, submitting corresponding proposals.

The USSR Council of Minsters Main Administration of State Customs Control, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the USSR Ministry of Finance have one month to elaborate measures, including the necessary sanctions, in respect of enterprises, associations, and organizations which dispatch goods aboad without proper licenses and in violation of the set export procedure.

Statistics for Cooperatives in RSFSR Reported

PM1001123790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[Ye. Ivanov commentary under the rubric "What the Statistics Reflect": "Russia's Cooperatives"]

[Text] This new sector of the economy is having an increasingly signficant impact on our life. Whether for the better or worse, as it were, is a special topic of discussion. Here is what the State Committee for Statistics reports. There were 51,068 active cooperatives in the Russian Soviet Federated Republic [RSFSR] last year, of which 8,491 produced consumer goods, 2,617 were in public catering, 3,396 were trade and trade-purchasing cooperatives, 13,022 offered consumer services, 1,192 were occupied in the procurement and processing of secondary raw materials, 5,136 were construction cooperatives, 1,441 were agricultural, and there were 15,773 others. Over 1 million people worked for them, around

470,000 of whom had more than one job. In the first quarter of the year alone they sold output (work, services) worth almost R2.5 billion.

How should the cooperatives' contribution to the Russian economy be assessed? Here are the figures. Cooperatives' sales represented 15.6% of total output sales in consumer services, 2.2% in public catering, 19.1% in consumer goods production, and 3.7% in the procurement and processing of secondary raw materials. Some 24,500 people were employed in public catering cooperatives alone, which in the first quarter of last year had sales worth almost R53.5 million.

The development of individual labor activity was quite negligible: For every 10,000 people living in the RSFSR there were on average just 24 engaged in this apparently quite difficult work. In the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous Republic, however, this indicator was significantly higher—122 people.

At the same time, the proportion of, for example, clothing and footwear (in physical terms) bought from cooperative workers and individuals is small: Among workers' and employees' families it ranges from 1.6% to 2.4% of all purchases and among collective farm workers' families from 1.8% to 2.7%. This is mainly due to high prices, the unattractive appearance of goods, and their low quality.

All this demonstrates that cooperatives have still not found their place in the economy as a whole. According to sociological research figures, the bulk of cooperative members are not confident about the future and are afraid that they will be "closed down." The first to suffer from this kind of instability is the consumer.

Economist Views 1990 Economic Prospects

904A0113A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 31 Dec 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Vasiliy Illarionovich Selyunin by E. Chernova: "Forecast for Tomorrow"]

[Text] **Every newspaper is judged by the journalists it gave birth to. The SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA had Selyunin. From his first day to his last on the paper, he never relinquished his correspondent's identification card. It was this paper that first published his famous articles, such as: "Rates of Growth on the Scales of Consumption," "Ministries, as Seen by Timber Management," "The Ostrich Wing Tactics." Each of them had an economic disovery that was first seen as a revelation and later became a basic fact. We can say it with even more exactness: First his findings were published as concise newspaper articles in the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and later they would appear in serious magazines.**

The paper's journalists even started a singular tradition of beginning every new year with a forecast article by Selyunin. We will not have this opportunity in the coming year; therefore, we asked Vasiliy Illarionovich to conclude the passing year with his forecast.

"I think we are facing a very hard winter. Two key industries are having the worst trouble. The first of them, railways, is in the worst position and there are long-standing reasons for this. Railroad construction remained undeveloped for dozens of years and all investments were put into the rolling stock—cars and engines. As a result of this short-sighted and harmful policy of the Ministry of Railways, our railroads cannot cope with the present numbers of cars.

"Transportation researchers know full well that we are close to the car saturation point—about 16 cars per 1 km of a station's track. At that level of saturation, the railroad becomes paralized and the stations can no longer receive or ship cargo. To reach that level we need only several more tenths of a car. Transportation performs poorly in normal weather, but under these conditions it does not affect the economy that much. Oh, but when winter comes!

"What should we not do? We should not try to set the country on its hind legs, we should not breathe down the neck of the cargo addressees to make them unload the cars as fast as possible. On the contrary, the cars ought to be shoved away to various enterprises by all means possible. Let them turn them into warehouses on wheels, let them keep the cars for 10 or 24 hours, or longer, instead of the scheduled 8. It is necessary to scatter the cars around somewhere: Access tracks of factories are all quite vacant. Freeing the track will ensure the increase of the traffic volume. Nobody realizes this, with the exception of a few experts whose voices are those of one crying in the wilderness.

And the second stumbling block for us this winter is electric power. These two are interrelated processes: If we do not deliver fuel the power stations will have to shut down.

We are introducting approximately 8 million kilowatts of station power a year. In the 1960's we used to introduce up to 11 million kw. These older stations ought to be phased out; they should be replaced. But now it is not possible to stop even one, even the tiniest power station as there is a shortage of electricity. Probably, we will have to introduce some militarization of railroad operations; otherwise, I do not know how we will be able to save our economy if this forecast comes true.

[Chernova] The government requested from the Supreme Soviet time to carry out some extraordinary measures. This time has not passed yet. How do you evaluate the efficiency of those measures in terms of today and tomorrow?

[Selyunin] I will talk briefly about just one such measure, a tax on the salary increase. I do not think it will work. If we listen to Abalkin, they imagine to collect R3 billion in 1990 with the help of this tax which is a vanishing quantity. We have half a trillion rubles in people's

savings: R340 billion in savings banks and between R150 billion and R170 billion in mattresses. The government plans a growth in personal income of R50 billion for next year. If not for this tax, income would grow by R53 billion instead of R50 billion. But this is not the point. We could collect R10 billion to R15 billion and not just R3 billion. But the problem is that this law provides an additional stimulus for inflating wholesale prices. By my estimates, in 1988 we had no growth of national revenue in invariable rubles, but Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] announced a growth of R25 billion. I made three different calculations and got zero. (This is a positive result. This year, it seems, we will have a 3% decrease in national revenue.) Where did this publicized growth come from? It is nothing other than the price increases.

What seems most likely is that the enterprises will start to inflate their wholesale prices so that there is enough money to cover the fierce tax and to increase salaries.

[Chernova] The government's new program is focused on the development of the group B industries, which produce consumer goods. Will we be able to realize these very good plans?

[Selyunin] In my view there are two measures that are out of line. They are the violently opposite decisions on taxing salary increases and *"On Additional Measures Meant to Stabilize the Consumer Market and to Strengthen the State Control over Prices."* The latter will enforce an actual price freeze in the case of all basic consumer goods. If that happens, the consumer goods industries will find themselves in a most unfavorable position. Why? Everyone will begin to raise wholesale prices except for those who are not allowed to do so—in other words, the group B industries. As a result they will not have the money to increase salaries. We desire to elevate group B somehow, to attract workers to these industries, but the system of monetary compensation is going in the opposite direction.

We decided to improve the market by strengthening directive planning. Similar decisions remained unrealized during twelve 5-year periods, but let us suppose that we will meet the target for 1990 and also for the upcoming 5-year plans. But the plan provides to increase production of manufactured consumer goods by over R50 billion a year! In 1 year we are supposed to produce more than in the previous 4 years. The only reliable way to achieve this is to raise prices. But if we have "more" goods by raising their prices we will see no market improvement. On the contrary, it will continue to decay.

[Chernova] Could you evaluate our present economic calamities from the point of view of their political results?

[Selyunin] All social tensions grow more acute during times of crisis and, more than anything, it is true about the tensions between nationalities. We should be taking drastic measures like the ones mentioned by G. Popov: We need to set some reasonable time limits within which the republics—if they desire it, of course—must prepare to become totally independent. Such a decision would have no real affect on the life of the country because the time limit could be far off, the year 2000 for instance. We still have to live that long. But in this case there would be no reason to revolt. Meanwhile the decisions are spelled out in such detail that they come to mean something quite the opposite which is the case with both the draft Law on Property and the draft Law on "Basic Principles of Managing the Economy and the Social Sphere in Union Republics." Property was divided on the principle of an upturned pyramid: The best enterprises with the best production resources and best personnel were left under the auspices of the Union. Everything worse than that—small industries—were left to the republics. And the local soviets retained only the street cars and public lavatories. This pyramid should be turned the correct way. The Union should keep the Union budget made up of monies for the maintenance of the military, maybe also some for foreign affairs. The remaining revenues, about 80%, ought to go into the republic budgets, including taxes from the enterprises that are subordinate to the Union.

Strictly speaking, they should not be subordinate to either the Union or the republics. If we are reforming our economy, what kind of administration are we talking about? We are doing away with certain economic ministries, and our society can live with that, but the radical suggestions have been rejected. The draft was turned back for revision. I believe that negative political results of these economic troubles will surface in spring or by summer of next year, and I doubt that the present government will be able to cope with the situation. What will happen to the country then?

When I returned from the two trips to Kuzbass and Vorkuta, I had great hopes because I had seen during my 2 months there what the workers' movement really was. It turned out, to my great amazement, that the working class did exist in our country. We have grown so accustomed to this class only approving and voting for everything, to it being a showcase example instead of a true working class. But this class came out better than one would expect. But it is incapable of creating a counterstructure of power all by itself. The intelligentsia cannot do anything by themselves either. Only a sensible intelligentsia united with the working class would make a force that could not be conquered.

[Chernova] And the last question, Vasiliy Illarionovich. What do you think about the closing of the SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA?

[Selyunin] Mine is a subjective answer. I loved this newspaper. In my opinion, it occupied a crucial position and could have gone on and on. But it came to be different.

Scientific

Mir Crew Prepares for Second Space Walk

Cosmonauts Check Space Suits

LD1001123890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The lengthy orbital flight of the crew of the Mir scientific research complex is continuing. Today, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are making preparations for a second space walk. In the course of the day they will check the systems on their space suits and make ready the equipment and the instruments with which they will work on the external surface of the station.

Within the framework of a wide-ranging program of biological research, 3-day research has been carried out on the development of flax in conditions of an artificial magnetic field, using the Magnitogravistat installation. An experiment also has been completed to study the growth of lettuce in weightlessness.

According to the crew's reports and telemetric data, the flight is proceeding according to the designated program. Both cosmonauts are in good health and feel fine.

Samples To Be Taken From Mir

LD1101110890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1034 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan (TASS)—A space walk by Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, who have been working in orbit aboard the "Mir" long-term scientific research complex for over 4 months, is planned for today. The opening of the hatch is set for 2048 hours Moscow time. It is intended that the crew will spend some 3 hours outside the station. During this time Viktorenko and Serebrov are to reassemble the docking port of the complex and also to remove samples of materials, which have been exposed on the exterior of the station.

Military

Anti-Army Sentiment in Moldavia Criticized

PM0801125590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Major General O. Bazhora, first deputy chief of the Odessa Military District Political Directorate, by own correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar: "Clear Program"; date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] The election campaign is gathering pace in the Armed Forces, as it is across the country. What are political organs and party organizations currently focusing their main attention on? This question kicked off the conversation between KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent Col N. Mulyar and Maj Gen O. Bazhora, first deputy chief of the Odessa Military District Political Directorate.

[Bazhora] As is well known, the district's troops are deployed in the territories of two republics. The elections will be held 25 February in Moldavia and 4 March in the Ukraine. The district's troops are studying and propagandizing among the voters details about the CPSU Central Committee appeal to the Soviet people, the two republics' constitutions, and the laws on elections to republic and local soviets. The political platforms of the Ukrainian and Moldavian Communist Parties and other documents are being studied. In short, everything is being done to provide voters with a clear understanding of their role and personal responsibility for carrying out an important political campaign during which there will be a struggle for power.

We servicemen are not indifferent as to who wins soviet power. That is why we put the question in the following way: There can be no place in the election campaign for unprincipled concessions or a tolerant attitude to anti-Soviet and nationalist behavior. [passage omitted]

[Mulyar] One last question, Oleg Ivanovich. Some of the district's troops are deployed on the territory of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. The situation there has been heated recently. Certain representatives of informal organizations have attempted to cast aspersions on people in uniform. How is the electoral mechanism among servicemen organized there?

[Bazhora] Deplorable I know, but I cannot fail to note that agitators who carry party cards and the credentials of USSR people's deputies in their pocket but think that people who have chosen the vocation of defenders of the motherland are second-class citizens have recently appeared in the republic. They are campaigning to strip military men of their right to vote and be elected to organs of power and are labeling them occupiers. Members of service families are complaining about cases of disrespectful attitudes to them at medical centers, hospitals, schools, and stores. Incidentally, this was mentioned a great deal in the speech by Colonel General N. Goncharov at the republic party aktiv meeting in December.

We cannot fail to take all these facts into account in electoral work. Bearing specific conditions in mind, we are seeking the optimum forms of working with people, explaining the prevailing situation in Moldavia, and showing the true aims and face of those who are trying to whip up nationalism, pit servicemen against the people, and stoke the atmosphere in order to prevent them winning deputies' seats. The slogan carried on the red banners in the fall of 1917—"All Power to the Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies!"—should become reality.

Students Steal Live Shells From Warship

PM1101094990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "...In Our Country—Shells"]

[Text] In our country homemade weapons are not encountered frequently, since the Army is one of the sources for replenishing the arsenals of racketeers and other thugs.

Militia workers in Blagoveshchensk discovered four 76.2-mm shell cases in the entrance to an apartment block. As a result of operational investigative measures it was ascertained that a certain P. Resnenko and R. Kuzminov had been on a warship and stolen from there no less than... 39 shells—in order to remove the explosives from them.

The investigation will establish why Resnenko and Kuzminov needed explosives. Something else is curious: How is it possible as simply as this to "remove" shells from a warship? Particularly as neither of them has any connection with the Army, being... secondary school pupils. It is probably a rhetorical question—everything is possible in our country. Only we would like to believe that the USSR Ministry of Defense will not agree with this rhetoric...